CAPAWACK

alias MARTHA'S VINEYARD

By

WARNER FOOTE GOOKIN, B. D.

Gc
974.401
D88g
1493241

M. L.

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 01100 7793

CAPAWACK

alias MARTHA'S VINEYARD

By

WARNER FOOTE GOOKIN, B.D.

Dukes County Historical Society
Edgartown
1947

Copyrighted by
Dukes County Historical Society
Edgartown, Mass.
1947

REYNOLDS PRINTING
New Bedford, Mass.
June 23, 1947

1493241

INTRODUCTION

by

HENRY BEETLE HOUGH

The naming of Martha's Vineyard has long been bound up with mysteries which have fascinated scholars and everyday persons alike. It is a curious fact that a full generation after Dr. Charles E. Banks had brought out his great work on Vineyard history, this subject was yeasting with more uncertainties than ever. The circumstances of the Island's early exploration, its christening by the English, the legitimacy of the name by which it had so long been known and loved — all were in doubt.

Obviously there was, as historians put it, need for critical re-examination of sources and for a new historical narrative with fresh perspective. Or, in the less formal words of everyday life, there was need for a sifting out of facts and a balanced judgment to set against fable in this matter which sooner or later kindles the interest of every Vineyard visitor.

As the author of the present study set to work, he found that the region of doubt was greater than had appeared on the surface. The Indian name of the Island, for example, was also obscure. In consequence, this study is far more than a re-investigation; it is an original research of impressive thoroughness and scope, imbued with a sense of discovery.

Unfortunately, early delvers in this field had left few trails; and incomplete or misleading references, where any existed at all, made a forthright retracing of their course impossible. They had not foreseen that their conclusions might be questioned.

To say that any work is definitive is to enter upon prophecy rather than to offer plain statement. The written word must always await the light of the new day, and the historian cannot invariably deal in proofs to the hilt, for his materials are not of that order. One may say with conviction, however, that scholarship can do no more now than Mr. Gookin has done, and that henceforth all who enter this field will find him a true guide. He has set up the missing markers and made plain the faint and disputed trails.

Most exciting from the standpoint of lovers of Martha's Vineyard, an answer has been found at last to the Island's riddle of centuries: "Who was Martha?" To be sure, there had been speculative answers and challenges, but now, for the first time, in Mr. Gookin's company, one may approach the household of Bartholomew Gosnold and knock gently upon his door.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

With more than the usual gratitude, the writer of these papers must express his indebtedness to those who have made his work possible, by their encouragement, their putting of source material at his disposal, and in some cases by cooperative research. On behalf therefore of myself and the readers of this work, I express heartfelt thanks to Mr. Henry Beetle Hough, Editor of the Vineyard Gazette and President of the Dukes County Historical Society; to Mr. Marshall Shepard, Curator of the Dukes County Historical Society; to Mr. Francis A. Foster, of West Tisbury; to Mr. Alexander O. Vietor, of Edgartown and the Yale University Library; to Mr. Stuart C. Sherman, of East Chop and the Providence Public Library; to Mr. Percy Chase Miller, of Eastville; and with deep sorrow, to Mrs. Emma Mayhew Whiting, of West Tisbury, whose untimely death removed our pioneer in establishing Martha's Vineyard as her heroic ancestor's name for this Island.

Others, not of our Vineyard community, who have painstakingly answered queries, are mentioned with gratitude in the Notes.

To the late Charles Edward Banks, M.D., author of the History of Martha's Vineyard, all students of Vineyard history must be forever grateful. The best years of his life were given to indefatigible labor in collecting the materials for his comprehensive volumes, a work of love from which all his successors must benefit. His limitations as a historian, which are freely commented on in these pages, in no wise detract from his contribution as an annalist and genealogist.

WARNER F. GOOKIN

The spelling "Capawack," used in the title, is the preferred Vineyard form, used by Governor Bradford of Plymouth and by Captain John Smith. Mr. Richard Vines, who spelled it "Capawock" in his grant of the Island, used the termination of the Indian dialects of the Province of Maine.

The studies here published in this small volume by the Dukes County Historical Society appeared first as articles in the Vineyard Gazette in 1946, *and are reprinted, with some revision, by the permission of the Editors, Elizabeth Bowie Hough and Henry Beetle Hough.*

The numerals in the text refer to the Bibliography and Notes at the end of this volume.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART ONE — CAPAWACK

		PAGE
I	Proem	7
II	Harlow's Relation	7
III	Epenow The Captive	8
IV	Capt. John Smith's Hope	10
V	Dermer and the Great Sachems	12
VI	Dermer at Capawack	15
VII	As Plymouth saw Capawack	18
VIII	"Called formerly Capawack"	20
IX	The Island of Refuge	23
X	Natick alias Capoag	24
XI	The Country Capawack	26
XII	The Chief Town of Capawack	26
XIII	The Passing of Capawack	28

PART TWO — "MARTIN'S OR MARTHA'S VINEYARD"

XIV	Called Marthaes Vineyard	31
XV	The Island's Proprietors	33
XVI	Under the Province of Maine	36
XVII	The Puritan Martin	37
XVIII	As Stirling Planned It	39
XIX	The Return To Maine	41
XX	Annexed by New York	43
XXI	In Massachusetts	45
	Bibliography and Notes	46

Part One

CAPAWACK

I

Proem

"Yea, those of the Isles of Capawack sent to make friendship." With these words, Governor Bradford, in his history, "Of Plimouth Plantation", recording a moral triumph over the surrounding savages, singles out for mention by name the most dreaded tribe under Massasoit, Sachem of the Wampanoag, of southern Massachusetts.

In the decade before the Pilgrims became acquainted with Capawack, the island had a peculiar fascination for English explorers. Captain John Smith, in particular, writes of "Capawack, and those abounding countries of copper, corn, people, minerals", as though he were thinking of Capawack as the key to the Indian kingdom described by Verrazano[1] in his letter of 1524, published by Hakluyt in England in 1584. If the half of what that enthusiastic Florentine had reported to the French king were true, the country he placed at 41° 40′ was well worth finding.

The history of the island in this period is a series of intriguing glimpses gleaned from the records of the explorers, following Gosnold, who sought it.

II

Harlow's Relation

So far as is known, the first to reach the island after Gosnold, was Captain Edward Harlow, a former officer of the short-lived Popham colony in Maine. His "Relation" has not survived, but fortunately John Smith abstracted a few brief sentences from it in his Generall Historie.[2]

Some two or three years prior to 1614, Harlow was employed by the Earl of Southampton and others to find an island "supposed about Cape Cod", — obviously the one discovered by Gosnold, whose expedition had been in part financed by the same earl. Smith, presumably quoting Harlow, reports that "they found no isle but the main". Beyond this, Smith takes from the "Relation" only a few sentences naming the Indians captured. On the Main, presumably Pawmet, they "detained" three, one of whom escaped. On the Isle of Nohono (possibly a confused form for Nantucket), where the Indians attacked them, they took one captive. Next, "At Capawe, they took Coneconam and Epenow, but the people at Agawam

used them kindly. So with five savages they returned for England." If the Agawam mentioned is Wareham, and not the more familiar one at Ipswich, it means that Harlow sailed through the Sounds and up to the head of Buzzard's Bay, as Gosnold had done.

III

Epenow The Captive

In the scanty remains of Harlow's Relation appears the name of Epenow, an Indian of significance in the history of Capawack. His story is told officially in the Briefe Relation,[3] issued by the Council of New England, and additional, essential details are given by Dermer,[1] Smith[2] and Gorges.[3] Reconstructed from these sources, the tale is as follows.

This captive from Capawack had been exhibited in London as a wonder by Captain Harlow[4]. Gorges describes Epenow as "a goodly man, of a brave aspect, stout, and sober in his demeanor". Smith speaks of him as great in stature. He had learned enough English to say "Welcome, welcome!" to those who came to gape at his bronze color and powerful physique.

Harlow was presently persuaded that there was a better use to be made of his captive. He took Epenow to Sir Ferdinando Gorges with a proposal, the nature of which Gorges tried to keep from the public, but which is frankly revealed by John Smith. Epenow had promised to show his captors where gold was to be found on Capawack, if he were returned to his home.

Gorges consulted the Earl of Southampton, who for the third time was willing to finance a voyage to Capawack. One of the Earl's men from the Isle of Wight, of which he was the military commander, a Captain Hobson, was also willing to contribute a hundred pounds to the venture. He was put in command. The Earl in addition assigned musketeers for the voyage.

Gorges planned the details carefully. He astutely lodged Epenow in London with Assacomet, a Maine Indian who had served him well. Finding that the two could understand one another, in spite of dialect differences, Gorges says, "I was a little eased in the use I made of my old servant, whom I engaged to give an account of what he learned by conference between themselves, and he as faithfully performed it."

Epenow explained that it would be necessary at Capawack to stage an escape; otherwise, appearing as the friend of the white men, if it were found that he had revealed the secrets of his country, "he was sure to have his brains knocked out as soon as he came ashore". To insure that Epenow did not make this escape before he had shown the way to the gold, Gorges ordered that he be clothed in a loose garment; and sent three of his own relatives along to seize him if he tried to escape prematurely.

Thus the third expedition to Capawack was organized. The ship sailed in June, 1614. With Captain Hobson were Harlow and three Indians, Epenow, Assacomet, and another whose name is variously given, Manawet or Wenape, probably the Monopet whom Harlow captured at Cape Cod. He had been sent to Gorges by the Earl of Southampton, as one who could give better information about the locality from which he came.

When the company arrived on the coast, "they were piloted from place to place by the natives as well as their heart could desire". Two things happened before they reached Capawack. The Indians learned of Hunt's abductions at Patuxet [Plymouth] and the Cape, which had taken place not more than a few weeks before their arrival. And "shortly after their arrival on the coast", Manawet died, — but under what circumstances is not explained.

In the harbor at Capawack, the principal men of the place, including Epenow's brothers and cousins, came aboard the ship, and were "kindly entertained" by the captain. Epenow had opportunity to confer with them. They promised to return the next day to trade. On the morrow, they appeared at the appointed time in twenty canoes, with bows ready, but made no move to board the ship, even when urged to do so by the captain. (Twenty canoes would normally carry more than a hundred men; on one occasion Brereton counted fifty in nine canoes).

Gorges continues the story: "The captain speaks to Epenow to come to him where he was, in the forecastle of the ship. He then being in the waist of the ship, between two of the gentlemen that had him in guard, starts suddenly from them and coming to the captain, calls to his friends in English to come aboard; in the interim slips himself overboard, and although he was taken hold of by one of the company, yet being a strong, heavy man, could not be stayed, and was no sooner in the water but the natives sent such a shower of arrows, and withal came so desperately near the ship, that they carried him away in spite of all the musketeers aboard, who were for the number as good as our nation did afford."

The sailing master of the ship and "divers others" were wounded, and many Indians slaughtered. The ship returned to England with no gold, and with nothing else accomplished, to the great dismay of Gorges and his collaborators.

In the story told by the mariners on their return, three things are definitely amiss. They reported Epenow killed, as he swam away, and that they had seen his kin recover the body; but Dermer reports that he found him alive, four years later, and had conference with him.[1] They ascribed Epenow's failure to carry out his bargain to the bitterness caused by Hunt's abductions; but as there never was any gold, this explanation merely covered the fact that they had been duped. Finally, they averred that Epenow and his friends had plotted to capture the vessel; but this was patently the imaginings of panic, at the near approach of the war canoes.

It should be remembered that Epenow's capture by Harlow took place not more than nine or ten years after the Gosnold expedition of 1602;

he was therefore, even though a boy, an eyewitness of that event. It is reasonable to suppose that Epenow's story, repeated by Assacomet, described landings by Gosnold on Capawack, and so identified it as the Martha's Vineyard of Brereton's Relation. This is an obvious deduction from subsequent events, as Gorges chose Capawack as his own in the Council division of 1635,[5] and sold it, through Vines, as Martha's Vineyard in 1641.[6]

IV

Capt. John Smith's Hope

Perhaps the most important fact to record of Capawack in these years is that Captain John Smith, once President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, made determined efforts to start a plantation there. Mr. Edward Arber, editor of the Travels and Works of Captain John Smith[2], has this to say in his critical introduction: "He grieved over his mishaps and ill-fortune in 1615 and 1617, but posterity may be glad that he never did get to New England again . . . We rejoice thereby to possess [his writings]: all which would never have come to the press, had not Man and Providence, the poltroons in 1615 and the three months westerly wind in 1617, frustrated all his attempts to go and settle in Capawuck."

Captain Smith's first voyage, in 1614, included an exploration of the New England coast.[2] While his ships fished off the coast of Maine, Smith "with eight or nine others that might best be spared," ranged the coast east and west, in a small boat, making it a prosperous voyage by getting in trade over a thousand beaver skins, besides some martin and otter. His description of what he found south of Cape Cod is as follows:

"Towards the south and southwest of this cape, is found a long and dangerous shoal of sands and rocks. But so far as I encircled it, I found thirty fathom of water aboard the shore, and a strong current, which makes me think there is a channel about this shoal: where is the greatest and best fish to be had, winter and summer, in all that country. But the savages say there is no channel; but that the shoals begin from the main at Pawmet, to the isle of Nausit; and so extends beyond their knowledge into the sea.

"The next to this, is Capawack, and those abounding countries of copper, corn, people, minerals: which I went to discover this last year (1615); but because I miscarried by the way, I will leave them, till God please I have better acquaintance with them."

This definite mention of Capawack as his destination in 1615 is important, because, when he comes to tell more particularly of his plans for a plantation, this destination is not mentioned by name, and historians seem to have overlooked it. He refers several times, in passing, to his determination to start a colony in this vicinity. In commenting on Harlow's

Relation, for instance, in which Capawack is mentioned, Smith says: "For all this, as I liked Virginia well, though not their proceedings; so I desired also to see this country, and to spend some time in trying what I could find, for all those ill rumors and disasters."

Again, in a denunciation of his treacherous subordinate, Captain Thomas Hunt, Smith accuses him of having kidnapped twenty-four savages from the Cape Cod region, "thinking to prevent that intent I had to make there a Plantation, thereby to keep this abounding country still in obscurity, that only he and some few merchants more might enjoy wholly the benefit of the trade, and profit of this country."

Smith had taken two ships to Maine early in the spring of 1614. The larger was in command of this Captain Hunt. When Smith returned from his exploration of the coast in his small boat, he found his bark ready to sail, and left for England in it. He instructed Hunt to finish loading, and then to sail directly to Spain. Hunt, for private gain, first went to Patuxet [Plymouth] and the Cape, where he managed to kidnap the twenty-four savages, whom he tried to sell in Spain for twenty pounds apiece.[3] Certain friars there getting wind of it, took the savages from him, and gave them Christian instruction. Hunt was never employed on the New England coast again.[4]

Smith seems to have taken an inconsistent position in regard to the effect of Hunt's kidnappings, as two years earlier, in his New England Trials[2], he argues that Hobson and Harlow were not justified in excusing their failure with Epenow at Capawack by putting the blame on Hunt.

This passage is found in a digression, in which he boasts at length of his success in controlling powerful "Kings" in Virginia with a force of eighteen men. He writes: "To range this country of New England in like manner I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their brute conditions I met many of their silly encounters, and without any hurt, God be thanked; when your west country men (i. e. Hobson, Harlow, and their crew) were many of them wounded and much tormented with the savages that assaulted their ship, as they did say themselves, in the first year I was there 1614; and though Master Hunt, then Master with me, did most basely in stealing some savages from that coast to sell, when he was directed to have gone for Spain: yet that place [Patuxet] was so remote from Capawack, where Epenow should have freighted them with gold ore, his fault could be no cause of their bad success, however it is alleged for an excuse."

On his return to England in August, from the exploratory voyage of 1614, Captain Smith put into Plymouth, where he laid his plan before Gorges and others. "I was so encouraged," he writes, "and assured to have the managing of their authority in those parts, that I engaged myself to undertake it for them."

In 1615, however, he found they were very reluctant to proceed, as they had in the meantime learned of the disastrous failure of the Hobson-Harlow expedition with Epenow. Nevertheless, they finally furnished

two ships, and Smith started out in the larger, a 200 ton vessel. This ship lost its masts before he had sailed more than three hundred miles, and he returned, to start again in a small bark of sixty tons, manned by a crew of fourteen, besides his colonization party of sixteen.

The prospective settlers, whose names he gives, consisted of four gentlemen, headed by Mr. Thomas Dermer and Mr. Edward Stallings, alias Rowcroft, four soldiers, six men, and two boys, "who were to learn to be sailors." "I confess," he writes in the Description of New England, (1616), "I could have wished them as many thousands, had all other provisions been in like proportion: nor would I have had so few, could I have had means for more: yet (would God have pleased we had safely arrived) I never had the like authority, freedom, and provision to do so well. The main assistance next God, I had to this small number, was my acquaintance among the savages; especially, with Dohannida, one of their greatest lords; who had lived long in England.

"By the means of this proud savage, I did not doubt but quickly to have got that credit with the rest of his friends and alliance, to have had as many of them, as I desired, in any design I intended; and that trade also they had, by such a kind of exchange of their country commodities; which both with ease and security in their seasons might then have been used."

The revisions of this passage as it appears in the later Generall Historie are interesting, though they add little. The clause stating that he never had "the like authority," is deleted, and the following substituted: "doubted not to have performed more than I promised, and that many thousands ere this would have been there ere now." Dohannida's name is given as "Dohoday," and in parenthesis is added, "and another called Tantum, I had carried with me from England, and set on shore at Cape Cod."

The remainder of Smith's tale is told in chagrin and bitterness. Captured by French pirates off the Azores, deserted by his crew, who refused to fight, he remained in the hands of the French for six months. Thus ended all his high hopes for the settlement of Capawack.

V

Dermer and the Great Sachems

Mr. Thomas Dermer, a gentleman of character, wrote the only published narrative[1] that mentions a visit in person to Capawack, in the years between Gosnold and Mayhew. After his death, caused indirectly by wounds received on a second visit to Capawack, The Council of New England, in the Briefe Relation[3], described in terms of highest commendation his two years' work in discovery of the coast; and declares that "he made the peace between us and the savages" which enabled the Pilgrims to survive. Captain John Smith memorializes him as an "understanding and industrious gentleman."[2]

Dermer's report is in the form of a letter written at the request of the Rev. Samuel Purchas, and published in his work, Purchas his Pilgrimes. It tells of his explorations of the coast from Maine to Virginia in 1619, using a six-ton open pinnace.

The circumstances leading to this voyage are given in the Council's Briefe Relation and in Smith's New England Trials. Some time after his return from the abortive attempt to start a plantation on Capawack under John Smith, Dermer spent a year in Newfoundland. There he met Tisquantum, familiarly known as Squanto, one of the Indians kidnapped by Hunt, who had some way worked his way from Spain to London, and thence to Newfoundland, where he was employed by Captain Mason, Governor.

Squanto was from Accomacke, the Indian village at Patuxet, completely de-populated by the pestilence of 1616-1617, in providential preparation for its settlement by the Pilgrims as New Plymouth.[7] Dermer conceived the idea that Squanto would serve well as guide, interpreter and sponsor, in introducing him to the chiefs who controlled the Capawack region. He wrote of his plan to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.[3]

Gorges approved, and sent over a ship for the expedition under Edward Rowcroft (alias Stallings), one of those who had started for Capawack with Smith and Dermer in 1615. Owing to confusions that need not be detailed here, Dermer had gone to England with Squanto; and although Gorges sent him at the first opportunity on a fishing vessel to Monhegan, the usual Maine rendevous, he failed to make contact with Rowcroft, who had gone on south. Dermer therefore took a small pinnace, which Rowcroft had left behind with a crew of "five or six" men, and with Squanto on board, sailed south along the coast. (Rowcroft, unable to explore the shallow waters of the Cape region in the large ship, sailed down to old friends in Virginia, where he met disaster and death.)

The first part of Dermer's letter to Purchas is difficult to interpret, because of unexplained allusions. He left Monhegan on May 19, he says, "for the Island I told you of." Arriving at Patuxet, "finding all dead," he travelled a day's journey inland to Nummastaquyt [Namasket, Middleboro]. From there he dispatched a native messenger to Poconoket [Massasoit's residence, Mount Hope, on the eastern shore of Narragansett Bay]. Two "kings," with an armed guard of fifty warriors, came in response to the summons. The "kings" were well satisfied with what Squanto, and Dermer, had to say, and gave the information Dermer demanded, so that he "found that former relations were true."

Next Dermer went to "the island," which he "discovered" June 12, twenty-four days after leaving Monhegan. There they had good quarters with the savages, "who likewise confirmed former reports." He found seven places that had been "digged," took samples of the earth, and other commodities, and "sounded the coast". "The time being far spent," they returned to Monhegan, arriving June 23 — eleven days after discovering the island — to find their ship ready to depart for England.

Here Dermer returns for a moment to the mysterious island. He writes: "To this isle are two other, near adjoining, all which I called by the name King James his Isles, because from thence I had the first motive to search for that now probable passage which may hereafter be both honorable and profitable to his Majesty". Dermer goes on to say that he dispatched his samples on the ship about to return to England, "thus concluding the accomplishing my business". He then put most of his provisions on a Virginia bound ship, keeping only necessaries, and started south again.

As there does not seem to be any accepted explanation of this obscure account of the five week excursion, by competent historians, the writer has the temerity to suggest one. It is based on the fact that up to this time, 1619, none of the explorers had mentioned an island directly south of Cape Cod; and the maps of the period show open water where Nantucket should be. An island mentioned by Harlow seemed to lie between Cape Cod and Capawack, and possibly other "relations" unknown to us hinted there was one there. It was important for Gorges and others in England to know whether there were such an island, and even more important, whether there was a channel north of it, suitable for large vessels, as Smith had conjectured.[2] Dermer was commissioned to establish the facts.

It is reasonable to suppose therefore that the island in which Dermer was interested was Nantucket, with its two adjoining islets of Tuckernuck and Muskeget. It is to be remembered that the first grant to Mayhew from the Earl of Stirling, erstwhile favorite of King James, conveyed "Nantuckett and two other small islands adjacent."[6]

The "passage", made "probable" by his soundings, must be the channel north of the island, which would afford large ships entrance to Capawack and the "abounding countries". It certainly should not be confused with his search for a passage to the Great Sea on the West, which he discusses freely in the latter part of this letter.

Dermer's first concern was to go to the Sachem in whose dominion these places lay,[8] to check former "Relations", presumably those of Brereton and Harlow. Had a large ship made landings on Capawack seventeen years before? Was Capawack the island where there were many vines, and much red and white clay? Had a ship eight years before passed through the Sounds, stopping at an island on the way to Capawack? Having gotten confirmatory answers to questions asked about these previous explorers, Dermer proceeded to Nantucket. Who had "digged" before him, and why some one in England wanted samples of the earth, remains a mystery.

Gorges seems to have derived his first knowledge of Nantucket from Dermer. In his Briefe Narration,[3] he reports this voyage, saying that Dermer shaped his course, from Sagadohock "to Capawike being in 41 and 36 minutes, sending me a journal of his proceding, with the description of the coast all along as he passed". (This journal, not preserved, was

evidently more detailed than the letter written for Purchas.) Gorges goes on to say that Dermer came "to Capawike and Nautican, going first to Nautican and from thence to Capawike, . . . where he met with Epenow."[9]

One final remark should be made about Dermer's report to Purchas on his five weeks' excursion to the Cape region. Veiled as his references are, there stand out two of the most dramatic pictures in the history of New England colonization.

Squanto is brought home! Five years before, as one of a party of twenty, he had gone without premonition on board a ship of the white men anchored in sight of his peaceful village, to find himself forcibly abducted. Then came the years of dreaming of a return to family and friends,—and now this! The pestilence has struck, all are dead! Yet this savage later returned to teach the Pilgrims how to live in the wilderness![7]

Then there is Dermer himself, marching fearlessly fourteen miles into the forest, without the semblance of a bodyguard, and demanding that the Great Sachem of the Wampanoag, commonly known as the Pokanokets, come to him! A year later, he writes feelingly to a friend, in a letter that came into the hands of Governor Bradford, and is printed in his history "Of Plimouth Plantation" as follows: "The Pokanawkits which live to the west of Plimouth, bear an inveterate malice to the English and are of more strength than all the savages from thence to Penobscot. Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an Englishman, who having many of them on board, made a great slaughter with their murderers [cannon firing slugs] and small shot, when (as they say) they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or not, it may be doubted; yet they believe they were, for the French have so possessed them; for which cause Squanto cannot deny but they would have killed me when I was at Namasket, had he not entreated hard for me."

It is not to disparage Dermer's courage, to remark that Squanto, describing the numbers and strength of the English, probably represented Dermer as an Ambassador sent by the King to make amends for the harm done by others. Whatever Dermer said to the Sachems was effective, as neither this frightful atrocity nor Hunt's crime, were avenged on the unsuspecting Pilgrims, when they landed in the Sachem's domain a year and a half later.

VI

Dermer at Capawack

When Dermer completed his mission to the Great Sachems, he discharged his immediate obligation by shipping his samples and reports to England, and started south again. Almost at the outset, he was driven

ashore and lost most of his stores; but after repairing the boat, decided to go on. Squanto, reluctant to take the long journey, was left "with some of our savage friends at Sawahquatooke". This was at Saco, where Richard Vines, a young man sent over by Gorges as his agent,[10] had spent the winter of the great pestilence in an Indian wigwam. As Dermer at this time was also in the employ of Gorges, the two were presumably in contact with one another, and Squanto was left with their mutual Indian friends.

"Thereafter," Dermer writes, "we had not that fair quarter among the savages as before, which I take it was by reason of our savage's absence; for now almost everywhere, where they were of any strength, they sought to betray us. At Manamock [Chatham] I was unaware taken prisoner" The savages had attacked his crew in his absence. He paid a ransom, but was not released. Then in some way, Dermer reversed the situation. "Yet it pleased God at last, after a strange manner to deliver me, with three of them into my hands, and a little after the chief Sachem himself".

When Dermer started to weigh anchor, the Sachem tried to leap overboard; restrained, he "craved pardon". The hatchets given as Dermer's ransom were sent for and returned, together with a canoe laden with corn as a ransom for the Sachem's release.

"Departing hence," Dermer continues, "the next place we arrived at was Capaock, an island formerly discovered by the English, where I met with Epinew a savage that had lived in England, and speaks indifferent good English, who four years since being carried home, was reported to have been slain, with divers of his countrymen, by sailors, which was false. With him I had much conference, who gave me very good satisfaction in everything almost I could demand. Time not permitting me to search here, which I should have done for sundry things of special moment, the wind fair, I stood away shaping my course as the coast led me . . ."

Dermer's direct statement, that Capawack was an island discovered by the English, together with the later evidence from Richard Vines[6] that Capawack was the island named Martha's Vineyard, should leave no reasonable doubt that it was on Capawack that Gosnold and his company landed and found the heavy growth of vines and the red and white clay, unique features of the island.[1] Again, it may be emphasized that Epenow, with whom Dermer had this long conference, must have been an eye-witness of Gosnold's arrival, which took place some nine years before Epenow was captured and taken to England.

Dermer's course after leaving Capawack took him down through Long Island Sound, Hell Gate, and New York Harbor; then south. He was thwarted by contrary winds from entering a passage which Indians assured him would lead "to the Great Sea on the West", so continued down the coast until he reached Virginia. There he hewed planks to deck his open pinnace, was taken desperately sick of a fever,[2] but re-

covered, and wrote this letter to the Rev. Samuel Purchas on Dec. 27, 1619.

In the spring of 1620, he returned to New England, and the next year, despite Gorges' advice to the contrary,[3] undertook another trip down the coast. His calamitous affray at Capawack is mentioned briefly in the Briefe Relation of the Council, and by John Smith, but a more extended report of it is given by Governor Bradford in his history "Of Plimouth Plantation".[7] Bradford dissents from the opinion that Dermer had made peace with the savages. Forgetting, or perhaps unaware, that Dermer had restrained the Sachems from vengeance for the atrocities perpetrated by white men before the arrival of the Pilgrims, he feels that Dermer's affrays with the Indians at Monomoyack [Chatham] and Capawack aroused the Indians to a dangerous mood.

This is Bradford's story of Dermer's end: "After the writing of the former relation he came to the Isle of Capawack (which lies south of this place in the way to Virginia), and the aforesaid Squanto with him, where he going ashore amongst the Indians to trade, as he used to do, was betrayed and assaulted by them, and all his men slain, but one that kept the boat; but himself got aboard sore wounded, and they had cut off his head upon the cuddy [cabin] of his boat, had not the man rescued him with a sword. And so they got away, and made shift to get into Virginia, where he died; whether of his wounds or the diseases of the country, or both together, is uncertain."

Although Bradford is sure that this affair was the reason that the Indians of Capawack "kept aloof and were so long before they came to the English" (at Plymouth), he is fair enough to give the reasons for the attack as he learned them later from the Indians themselves. On his inland journey to Namasket, two years before, Dermer had obtained the release of a Frenchman whom he found in captivity, as he himself relates, and also another whom he picked up in Massachusetts Bay. He may have kept these Frenchmen as members of his crew. In any case, the Indians got it into their heads that Dermer had come to make trouble about the affair, perhaps merely because Dermer asked stern questions about it.

What had happened, as Bradford relates it, was this: "About three years before, a French ship was cast away at Cape Cod, but the men got ashore and saved their lives, and much of their victuals, and other goods; but after the Indians heard of it, they gathered together from these parts, and never left watching and dogging them until they got advantage, and killed them all but three or four which they kept, and sent from one Sachem to another, to make sport with, and used them worse than slaves (of which the aforesaid Mr. Dermer redeemed two of them); and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it."

It is saddening to know that Dermer lost his life at the hands of Capawack Indians, for performing an act of charity; but we like to think that

Squanto, who himself probably got away with difficulty to tell the tale, and Epenow, did their utmost to restrain the evil passions of the tribe.

VII

As Plymouth saw Capawack

The dream that Capawack was the Ophir of the new world, entertained by Gorges and the Earl of Southampton, or that it was the Promised Land of John Smith's hopes, faded out. Dermer's factual reports, and closer acquaintance with Capawack by the Pilgrims, ended a chapter. Its colonization was no longer urged. Chance having brought the Pilgrims within the patent of the Council of New England, in nearby Plymouth, Gorges and the rest seem to have settled back to wait to see what would happen to a colony in the midst of savages.

As a part of the domain of Massasoit,[8] Capawack was bound by the treaty which that great Sachem made with the Pilgrims four months after their arrival. Massasoit promised "that neither he nor any of his, should injure or do any hurt to any of their people." In another clause, Massasoit is to "send to his neighbors confederate, to certify them of this, that they . . . might likewise be comprised in the conditions of peace."[7] This treaty was in force when Mayhew settled on the Vineyard, and for many years thereafter.

The Indians of Capawack were the last to confirm the treaty. It was not until the Pilgrims, months later, found it necessary to send an armed force to bring to terms a minor Sachem at Namasket, that Bradford writes the sentence: "After this they had many gratulations from divers Sachems, and much firmer peace; yea, those of the Isles of Capawack sent to make friendship."

Edward Winslow, in a letter dated Dec. 11, 1621, printed in Mourt's Relations,[11] give an optimistic description of the situation, with an obvious reference to Capawack. "Not only the greatest King amongst them called Massasoyt, but also all the princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us, so that seven of them at once have sent their messengers to us to that end, yea, an isle at sea, which we never saw hath also together with the former yielded to be under the protection, and subjects to our sovereign Lord King James, so that there is now great peace among the Indians themselves . . ."

The decision was not an easy one for those of Capawack. Governor Bradford gives a glimpse of a blood-chilling scene on the island, described in his indictment of Dermer for getting his crew and himself killed, thereby causing Capawack to keep "aloof from the English."

"Also, (as after was made known)," writes Bradford, "before they came to the English to make friendship, they got all the Powcahs [pow-

wows] of the country, for three days together, in a horrid and devilish manner to curse and execrate them with their conjurations, which assembly and service they held in a dark and dismal swamp."

As nothing direful happened to the English, we are forced to the conclusion that the powwows of Capawack left it to their thirty-nine gods to implement their curses, while they sent an ambassador to make sure that English guns were not turned in their direction.

The final hint of the possibility of a settlement on Capawack appears in a letter from Mr. Cushman, a London advisor of the Pilgrims, printed in Bradford's history. He writes about Mr. Thomas Weston, whom history records as a mercenary and unscrupulous merchant of London. Mr. Weston had been one of the original investors in the Pilgrim venture, but withdrew his support at a critical time. He had decided that he could do better by starting his own settlement.

"It is like," writes Mr. Cushman, "he will plant to the southward of the Cape, for William Trevore hath lavishly told but what he knew or imagined of Capewack, Mohiggon and the Narigansets. I fear these people will hardly deal so well with the savages as they should. I pray therefore signify to Squanto, that they are a distinct body from us, and we have nothing to do with them, neither must be blamed for their faults, much less warrant their fidelity."

This William Trevore, who recommended Capawack, was a sailor on the Mayflower, retained by the Pilgrims for a year as a laborer; his sources of information were therefore limited. Fortunately for the Island, Mr. Weston sent his colony of ne'er-do-wells to Weymouth. There, as expected, they made trouble, and nearly starved as the result of their own incapacities. Governor Bradford, out of compassion, and gratitude to Mr. Weston for his initial investments, endeavored to buy corn for them. This led him into his only recorded attempt to reach Capawack.

The Governor planned to go about the Cape to the southward, he says, "but they could not get about the shoal of Cape Cod, for flats and breakers, neither could Squanto direct them any better, nor the master durst venture any further, so they put into Manamoyack Bay [Chatham] and got what they could there."

These shoals were the barrier that prevented the Pilgrims from developing any trade with Capawack; but even when they had established a port on Buzzards Bay, there is no record of contact with the Island. Capawack probably had little or nothing that the Pilgrims could not obtain more easily, and more safely, elsewhere.

The darkest role in which Capawack appears is its share in an attempted formation of a league to destroy the English. This appears in a passage in Edward Winslow's Good News from New England.[12] Winslow had nursed Massasoit back to health, after an illness so severe that the Sachem himself had not expected to survive. In gratitude,

Massasoit made known to the white men that their lives were in danger. This revelation is given in Winslow's words.

"At our coming away, he called Habbamock to him, and privately (none hearing, save two or three other of his panieses, who are of his council) revealed the plot of the Massachuseuts, before spoken of, against Master Weston's colony, and so against us; saying that the people of Nauset, Paomet, Succonet, Mattachiest, Manomet, Agowaywam, and the isle of Capawack were joined with them; himself also in his sickness was earnestly solicited but he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore as we respected the lives of our countrymen and our own safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset, who were the authors of the intended mischief."

The places mentioned are Nauset (now Eastham), Pawmet (on the northern part of the outer Cape), Falmouth, Barnstable, Sandwich, Wareham, and our Capawack. These evidently constituted Massasoit's southeastern confederacy, his own immediate territory lying farther north, taking in everything from Middleboro to the shores of Narragansett Bay at Mount Hope. The seven Sachems mentioned above by Winslow as having come at one time to make friendship may well have been from these seven towns.

The Massachusetts Indians in the vicinity of Weston's Weymouth colony had been foully treated by the settlers. Massasoit had evidently restrained his tribes with difficulty. Habbamock, interpreter and friend of the Pilgrims, prematurely bewailing his Sachem's death, spoke of him as one who was not "bloody and cruel like other Indians," and hinted that he had often "restrained their malice." Captain Standish of the Pilgrim colony followed Massasoit's advice; he went to the Weymouth colony and killed half a dozen of the Indian ringleaders threatening them. This ended the conspiracy in which Capawack was involved. Fortunately, soon thereafter the Weymouth colony dissolved.

VIII

"Called formerly Capawack"

To remark that Massasoit must have known the proper name of the island, Capawack, from which one of his fighting tribes came, is to declare the obvious. Yet it is necessary to do so, as Dr. Charles E. Banks, in his History of Martha's Vineyard, by some curious quirk, implies the contrary, (I, 32 ff.). Misled by his own peculiar derivation of Cape Pogue —of which more will be said later—he declares that Capawack was the name of that small headland, not of the whole island. He does not explain how not only Massasoit, but Epenow and all the other Indian informants of Harlow, Smith, Gorges, Dermer, Bradford, Winslow, De-Laet's explorers, and Vines, made the same mistake in naming the island.

The Dutch during this period likewise knew Capawack as the name of the Island. De Laet, a director of the Dutch West India Company and author of a comprehensive work entitled The New World, published in 1625, has this brief account of it.[13] "A number of islands lie off this coast, as, for instance, one that is commonly called by our Dutch captains, Texel, and by others Cape Ack. It is a large island, and appears white and clifflike, according to the description of Captain Cornelis Jacobax. May."

DeLaet's language here, giving the name rendered by the translator "Cape Ack" as the equivalent of Texel, leaves no doubt that the name applied to the whole of the large island, including the white cliffs at the western end. It follows therefore that the appearance of the name "C. Ack" on the De Laet map of 1630 opposite the eastern end, as though it were the name of a cape, is merely an unfortunate error of the cartographer employed to draw the map.

The form "Petockenock" which De Laet gives in his text for Tuckernuck demonstrates that his Dutch informants got the names of these islands directly from the Indians. Traditionally, (according to Starbuck, History of Nantucket, Pages 122, 123.) Tuckernuck means "a loaf of bread"; but no English source has the correct form, "petukqunneg", as spelled in Trumbull's Natick Dictionary. The first English mention of it by name seems to be in Mayhew's deed of 1659, where it is called "Tuckanuck alias Tuckanuckett". De Laet's form, therefore, indicates that the Dutch, sometime previous to 1625, were in direct contact with the local Indians.

Consequently, it is not too much to assume that some Dutch captain visited Capawack and talked with its Indians, presumably with the help of an interpreter from the Hudson region, where the Dutch had stations as early as 1614.

After 1623 a curtain of silence falls over Capawack; there is no further occurrence in English sources of direct news about it. If the Pilgrims had other contacts with the island, they were not important enough for Bradford to relate. It was terra incognita to the Boston colony, as William Wood, 1634, makes no mention of the islands in New England Prospect, a topographical account of Massachusetts. A Capt. Peirce, sailing from Boston to Narragansett and back in 1634 passed it by without name or mention.[14]

In 1635, in the final allocation of coastal lands by the Council of New England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges chose Capawack and Nautican along with extensive Maine territory; in 1639 these islands appear in Gorges' Province of Maine, set up by royal charter.[5] In 1637, Mr. James Farrett appeared in Boston as agent for the Earl of Stirling,[30] authorized to sell Nantucket, Martin's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands; four years later, he persuaded Mr. Thomas Mayhew of Watertown to take them at a moderate price.[6]

Mr. Richard Vines, steward for Gorges, immediately appeared, declaring that the Province of Maine held these islands under the name "The Islands Capawock, alias Martha's Vineyard", thereby making known that Capawack was the island Gosnold discovered, and called Martha's Vineyard. Vines gave Mayhew a grant to the islands under this name, and so created a situation with complications.[6]

The documentary identification of Capawack with the Vineyard, Martha's or Martin's, comes from sources of the highest authority.

The names used by Vines in his identification are taken from a photostat of the grant as recorded in New York Deeds (III, 66), a copy made when Mayhew presented the original to Governor Lovelace in 1671.

Vines, as has been stated,[10] was employed by Gorges on the New England coast, beginning about 1617. He was in a position to know the history and the facts about Capawack. He was in intimate touch with Gorges, and almost certainly had contacts with Dermer, likewise employed on the coast by Gorges. Both of these men, Gorges and Dermer, had talked with Epenow, an Indian from Capawack within whose memory span Gosnold's landings had been made.

Furthermore, there were of course Vines' twenty-five years of intimate contact with Maine Indians, whose wide range of travel up and down the coast is illustrated by the fact that it was a Maine Indian who first greeted the Pilgrims with words of English. It is inconceivable that Vines' identification was a mistaken one.

The later identifications of Capawack as the Vineyard, are likewise impressive.

In 1649, Edward Winslow, formerly of Plymouth, published in England, The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, containing a letter from the younger Thomas Mayhew, described as preaching "upon an island called formerly Capawack, by us Mortha's (sic) Vineyard." The letter, dated at Great Harbour on the Vineyard, has a caption reading "Mr. Mayhew's Letter from Capawack,"[12]

In 1664, Gorges' grandson asserted his right to "Capawock since called Martin's Vineyard."[5]

In 1669, Nathaniel Morton, Secretary of the General Court of Plymouth, published "New England's Memorial". In this first edition, Capawack, occurring in a passage taken from Bradford's History, has a foot-note, reading, "Now called Martin's Vineyard". In later editions, this was changed to Martha's Vineyard.[15]

In 1693, after the Charter of William and Mary had included Capawick and Nantucket in the Massachusetts Colony, the General Court under Governor Phips used in its legislation the identification, "Capawock alias Martha's Vineyard". Thus Vines' designation was officially confirmed, and Capawack ever since has been known as Martha's Vineyard.[39]

The only voices raised against this identification by Phips and his General Court were those of Mr. Matthew Mayhew and his supporters. (Banks I, pp 189, 196.) But the protest by Mr. Mayhew has the aroma of political expediency. It did not suit Mr. Mayhew's purposes to admit that the Gorges-Vines grant had conveyed the Vineyard. He was content with the prerogatives accorded him by the Governor of New York, where he preferred to remain by virtue of the Stirling grant.

The Province of Maine had been sold in 1678 to the Massachusetts Bay Colony,[16] to the great annoyance of Charles II; with the Province had gone theoretically at least jurisdiction over Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. Massachusetts had not dared assert this in the face of the Duke of York's possession, and with nothing to gain but the expense of administration. The new regime under King William, however, took for granted that Massachusetts was to have everything included in the Gorges' patent, including Capawack.

Mayhew's ingenious scheme, therefore, was to assert that Capawack, to which Gorges undoubtedly had had claim, included nothing but the half mile square of the Cape Pogue headland.[39] Massachusetts, then, could claim nothing more. This position was taken despite the knowledge that his grandfather for many years had lived "under Gorges" in the firm belief that the Vineyard itself was the Capawack granted to Gorges by patent and royal charter. Whether Matthew was justified in this application of the name, will be considered in the study to come of the nomenclature of the Island.

IX

The Island of Refuge

An inquiry into the meaning of the ancient Island name Capawack discloses that other names beginning with the stem capa- are found in Virginia and Maine as well as locally. The wide distribution indicates that this form of the stem is very old, older than the corresponding kuppi which Eliot found in use among the "Natick" Indians of Massachusetts. Forms in the matrix of place names are long preserved. For instance, bury and mark were familiar nouns many centuries ago, but few today recognize them as imbedded in Tisbury and Chilmark.

Trumbull's Natick Dictionary gives a number of meanings for kuppi and its derivatives. From the primary meaning of "covered, shut in", it becomes "thickets or woods", "harbor or haven", "overcast or cloudy". Roger Williams comments on the Narragansett cuppi-machaug, "thick woods or swamp", by adding, "These are the refuges of the women and children in war, whilst the men fight."[17] An interesting parallel is covert, from the French cover, meaning "a thicket or underbrush affording cover for game" (Webster).

The termination -ack with "w" inserted for euphony, is from the word for place or region. Spelled ak or ahk, it occurs in Vineyard deeds as a separate word for place or locality. The spelling Capawack (Smith, Bradford) is therefore the preferred one for the Vineyard. Capawock (in the Gorges' grants) has -ock as in Maine names. Capawick is the Englishman's misspelling of a slurred vowel in an unaccented syllable as pronounced in palace.

The most appropriate meaning for the Island name seems to be that suggested by the Narragansett cappacommock, "which signifies", writes Roger Williams, as quoted by Trumbull, "a refuge or hiding place, as I conceive it". (Commuck is a "limited area, or structure".) By this analogy, Capawack would mean "The Refuge Place", or more poetically, "The Haven", in the wider sense of a place of safety. As an old name, it may have been given to the Island by the first Indians who crossed to it for refuge from their enemies on the mainland.[18]

The stem capa- seems to have this same meaning in other place names. Capahowosick in Virginia is reported by a secretary of the Virginia Historical Society to mean "at or near the place of shelter, a haven, covert, or wood".[18] Cappoaquidnet, (Noman's Land), from capa-aquidnet, could mean "Refuge Island". Cappiquat, the promontory on Cuttyhunk, could mean "on the refuge hill or summit". (Drake tells of a Sachem in King Philip's War who "fled to Elizabeth Island".)

Capanawhagen, mis-applied as Cape Newagen, Southport Island, Me., is said by Mrs. F. H. Eckstrom, an authority on Maine names, to mean "interrupted route", that is, a water route interrupted by crossing the island, to avoid rounding a point exposed to the sea. But in the situation as described it would be more natural to call this "the sheltered or safe route".[18] These parallels could doubtless be multiplied by further research.

X

Natick alias Capoag

An understanding of Capawack as a chapter in the Island's history has been obscured by a mistaken identification of Capawack with Capoag, a late name for an islet now the Cape Pogue peninsula. This error originated with Mr. Matthew Mayhew, who in 1693 is reported to have said that Capawick was this small island at the extreme end of Chappaquiddick.[39] This, as has been explained, was when he was arguing that Massachusetts had not obtained jurisdiction over the Vineyard by its purchase of the Province of Maine.

The original form of Capoag is undoubtedly Capa-po-wack, or Capepowak, as it is spelled in an anti-smuggling court order of 1675 (Banks I 35). The word means "enclosed or sheltered water place", and

is an apt name for the land around the land-locked Cape Pogue Pond. But it is to be noted that the name has the syllable -po-, meaning water; Capoag or Cape Pogue is analogous in derivation to Nunnepog, "fresh water place".

Capawack, lacking the syllable -po-, is a name of different origin and meaning, and not one from which a name ending in -pog can be derived. Its identification therefore with Cape Pogue is an error. Matthew Mayhew's motive in making this identification, as has been explained, was political expediency. Dr. Banks, following him in the error, has to brush aside (I 34) unimpeachable evidence from Harlow, Smith, Dermer, Gorges, Bradford, Winslow, De Laet, and Vines, that Capawack was the island home of a tribe of Indians, which of course the Cape Pogue islet could not have been, nor could the Indians have misnamed the home of the tribe. To facilitate his mistaken derivation, Dr. Banks uses the spelling Capowack instead of Capawack, a form not found in any early source. Its only occurrence is in a document drawn up by Mr. Benjamin Smith in 1693 in support of Matthew Mayhew.

The proper name of the Cape Pogue islet was Natick, or Natuck, as given in 1663 by the Sachem who sold it, and in 1693 by Simon Athearn (Banks I, 184). The Natick near Boston means "place of search" (Tooker); here, it might be translated Lookout Point, referring to the headland.[18] Capoag, first recorded as an alias of Natick in 1727 by Micahjah Mayhew, refers to the shores of the pond.

Dr. Banks assumes that Capepowak, second after Martha's Vineyard in the list of interdicted places in the anti-smuggling court order of 1675, is Natick. This can hardly be, first because Governor Thomas Mayhew himself owned the islet, having bought it as Natuck in 1663; second, because there would be no one on it to receive contraband, except possibly a sheepherder or two; and thirdly, because, if Capepowak is Natick, there is no provision for keeping smugglers off of Chappaquiddick, which is not mentioned. The name therefore must refer to the pond shore of the larger island, the most likely place to land prohibited intoxicants for the Indian village on Chappaquiddick.

It is amazing that Matthew Mayhew could take it upon himself to declare that the Capawock of his grandfather's grant from Gorges was not Martha's Vineyard as stated by Gorges' steward, Vines, in the conveyance. But it must be remembered that his words as quoted were spoken seventy years after Capawack last appears in our sources as in contemporary use. It is reasonable to suppose that the Indians in the enforced peace following their pact with the Pilgrims let the name Capawack sink into oblivion along with their evil reputation.

Certainly the Thomas Mayhews would want to suppress every reminder of the bloodthirsty past. Matthew may never have heard of the Capawack that rescued Epenow from a ship in its harbor, or that planned

to send its warriors to wipe out the English, two generations before he reached maturity. He would thus be free to find some other explanation of the name; and one that suited his purposes politically was at hand.

XI

The Country Capawack

Capawack, as these studies have shown, is reported by the early explorers to be an island—one with a harbor, and the home of a fighting tribe of Indians. Yet Governor Bradford, who speaks of the Isles of Capawack, and Vines, who conveys to Mayhew "The Islands Capawock", have in mind something more than a single island. A possible explanation of this might be found in the fact that the island was known to be a composite of three or four islands—Natick, Chappaquiddick, Nope, and possibly Aquiniuh (Gay Head) thought of as a separate island.

But in Bradford's, and in Massasoit's use, Capawack must include all of the fighting Indians south of Cape Cod, the savage group on Nantucket as well as those on Capawack itself. "The Isles of Capawack" therefore implies some sort of leadership over all the other islands on the part of Capawack. In this sense Capawack was a "country", known by the name of the largest island in the group, consisting of Nantucket and its adjacent islands as well as those in the Vineyard group.

Corroborative evidence of this is found in the curious and hitherto unnoted fact that Mayhew both in deeding Nantucket and in deeding Tuckernuck, in 1659,[6] affirms that he had title to them from Gorges as well as from the Earl of Stirling, although the conveyance clause in the Gorges grant as written by Vines, names only "the Islands Capawock alias Martha's Vineyard".

There are two independent recordings of this, one in New York and another in the town records of Edgartown [I, 9] so it cannot be assumed that Nautican was inadvertently omitted. Mayhew must have been led to believe that ownership of Capawack or Martha's Vineyard carried with it ownership of all the islands south of the Cape, on the ground that they were federated by the Indians under the leadership of Capawack. As extraordinary as this may seem, the alternative is that Thomas Mayhew was culpably careless in reading his grant from Gorges, and deceived the purchasers of the islands.

XII

The Chief Town of Capawack

It is furthermore possible that Capawack, both as an island and a federation, took its name from a town so designated on the Island. In naming a region for the Englishmen, Indians would give the name of the

town where they lived, as a town controlled the region about it. Massasoit's people, the Wampanoag, were generally called the Pokanokets (in various spellings) by the best early authorities, although Pokanoket is properly the name of his residence town, not of the country or tribes. Likewise, the seven of the southeastern confederacy in which Capawack is named, are all otherwise the names of towns, controlling districts without definite boundaries, but co-extensive in area with the power of the Sachem of the leading town.

Capawack would thus take precedence over the rarely used Island name Nope, if indeed that designation was known in the days of Epenow. It has already been said that the Thomas Mayhews, father and son, even though the name Capawack was used in their treasured grant from Gorges, would want to suppress it, because of the frightful reputation the Indians of the Vineyard had acquired under it. As the first, and only, mention of Nope on the Island is one by the Rev. Thomas Mayhew Jr., in 1653, it may be that Nope was a name introduced by him to supplant Capawack.[19]

There is, on the Island, the site of a large and nameless village, at the Head (southern end) of the Lagoon. Tradition, physical remains, natural location and documentary mention, unite to prove its existence; yet it is not in the list of "praying towns" given by the Rev. John Cotton, as of 1665-1667.[20] Attention was called to the existence of this site in an article in the Vineyard Gazette of Aug. 19, 1926, authorship of which is acknowledged by Mr. Joseph Chase Allen. To this the writer adds a few facts.

Tradition, handed down in the Smith family for generations, places the exact site on the "George Smith" farm somewhat east of the farm dwelling. Other wigwam locations have been noted south of the spring. The Smith tradition reports that there were once 400 wigwams, but this is doubtless an exaggeration.[21]

The tradition is supported by the existence of a large burying ground to the north, that is, east of the southern end of the Lagoon, where a number of gravestones, variously estimated, may be found in the thick underbrush. All about are huge middens, chiefly debris of shellfish, with some bones. These have been largely undisturbed on the west side of the Lagoon; the actual supposed site of the village has been under farm cultivation for two centuries or more, which would level the middens there. At least one has been located on the east side of the Lagoon, above the kame. Arrowheads by the score, with some stone implements and broken pottery, have been turned up by plows.

The site is a natural one for an Indian village. It is near the great spring, Weahtaqua, which now supplies a summer population of 10,000. It is on the edge of the Lagoon, prolific in all sorts of sea food. To the north were the dense woods, Ogkeshkuppi. To the southwest is the level fertile land running down to Duarte's Pond, still a farming region.

Documentary reference to the town is made by Prince, in his Indian Converts (Banks I, 215), who relates that "Towonquatick the Sagamore (a sovereign prince)" came from a place "within six miles of the English". This definitely locates his place at the Head of the Lagoon, as the known "praying towns" are much nearer, or farther away from, Edgartown.

Following an epidemic in 1645, Towanquatick and his son were converted by the Rev. Thomas Mayhew Jr., against violent opposition from the powwows. [Banks I, 217] Mayhew held meetings at the town until 1648, apparently with little permanent success, as nothing is said of work there in later missionary reports. An attempt was made to kill the Sagamore in 1647, and he probably moved away.

Dr. Banks thinks, by arguing from the derivation of the name (II Edgartown, pp. 10, 18) that at Mashacket (Masha-komuk-et) the Sagamore had a palisaded Great House, on the neck next to Nashamoiess, the small "praying town" on the Great Pond south of Edgartown. This was certainly no site for the chief town of Nunnepog — but it may well have afforded asylum to a discredited and persecuted Sachem, who had accepted the religion of the English.

The location of the chief town at the Head of the Lagoon fits perfectly as the scene of Epenow's escape at Capawack. The English ship "in the harbor" would be in Vineyard Haven Harbor; the Indian canoes, with their hundred or more warriors, came out from some place not described, hence unseen from the ship; and one has the impression that they came from a distance, which would be the case if the village were at the Head of the Lagoon.

The possibility that Capawack was the name of this village at the Head of the Lagoon, in the absence of direct evidence, rests solely on the assumption that it was the largest village on the Island. It is to be hoped that some day trained archeologists will prove or disprove this assumption. It is also possible that a thorough search of the Indian deeds available, especially those in the Indian language, not translated, will shed light on the name. Very tentatively, the writer suggests that it may have been Capawack originally, but that later, as the name Capawack faded out of use, it became known as Nunnepog, "Fresh Water", because of the abundance of water from the spring, and in the rivulets that trickle across the eastern shore of the Lagoon.

XIII

The Passing of Capawack

The martial spirit of Capawack came to its ebb. The Pilgrims had feared its Indians. Josselyn, who believed everything told him, relates that when he was in the country (1638), they had seized a boatload of men and eaten them.[22] Lechford in 1642 describes them as "very sav-

age".[23] On the other hand, Roger Williams of Providence, in his Key into the Language of America, published in London in 1643, records a visit to Martin's Vineyard", presumably made before Mayhew's purchase of the Island, on which he was received with friendliness.[17]

His account is remarkable, because he found on Capawack an eagerness to know about the great Manitou who had given the English wisdom, several years before Mayhew or Eliot began their conversions. The Indians were motivated, no doubt, by admiration for the cutting tools and the guns, the big ships and all the paraphernalia of living the English brought with them, clear evidence of the power of the white men's Manitou.

There are two passages in Williams' book about an Island visit; in the first the Island is not named, but can hardly be any other than Capawack.

"I once travelled," he writes, "to an island of the wildest in our parts, where in the night an Indian (as he said) had a vision or dream of the sun (whom they worship for a God) darting a beam into his breast which he conceived to be the messenger of his death: this poor native called his friends and neighbors and prepared some little refreshing for them, but himself was kept waking and fasting in great humiliations and invocations for ten days and nights:

"I was alone (having travelled from my bark, the wind being contrary) and little could I speak to them to their understandings especially because of the change of their dialect, or manner of speech from our neighbors: yet so much (through the help of God) I did speak, of the true and living only wise God, of the creation: of man and his fall from God, etc. that at parting many burst forth, Oh when will you come again, to bring us more news of this God?"

In a later paragraph Williams writes: "The Indians of Martin's Vineyard, at my late being amongst them, report generally, and confidently of some islands, which lie off from them to sea, from whence every morning early, certain fowls come and light amongst them, and return at night to lodging, which island or islands are not yet discovered, though probably, by other reasons they give, there is land, etc."

The changed mood of the Indians of Capawack is probably to be ascribed to a gradual deterioration in morale on the part of former warriors, vividly portrayed by a great leader who arose among them, a thinker, who realized that the future of his people lay with the white men. This was the great Sachem, or Sagamore, Towanquattick, of whom mention has been made.

The Sachem's speech, recorded by the Rev. Thomas Mayhew Jr., in a letter published in London,[12] was made in 1646, four years after he had welcomed the Mayhews.

"A long time agone," Towanquattick said, "they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowledge, but they are dead and their wisdom is buried with them: and now men lead a giddy life in ignorance, till they are white headed, and though ripe in years, yet they go without wisdom unto their graves." He also said, he "wondered the English could be almost thirty years in the country, and the Indians fools still, but he hoped the time of knowledge was now to come".

In these words, the great Sachem spoke the obituary of Capawack, and proclaimed the day when the Island was to become "a fruitful Vineyard unto the Lord of Hosts".

Part Two

"MARTIN'S OR MARTHA'S VINEYARD"

XIV

Called Marthaes Vineyard

A curious feature of the Vineyard's history in the seventeenth century, after its settlement, is that it appears under two names, Martha's Vineyard and Martin's Vineyard, both presenting a problem of origin. Considered as two separate problems, solutions are indeed difficult. It is only when seen as a single problem, that is, when one name is seen to be the result of the other, that a true solution is possible.

Martha, to most of the Christian world, is a charming name, honored because she who bore it, ministered to our Lord. But to the type of Puritan who feared the restoration of her broken images, and who could not tolerate her halo in a stained glass window, it seemed that the Devil and Archbishop Laud must be thwarted by avoiding any use of the name that might open the door to idolatry. This is the clue to the alternative name for the Island.

That Bartholomew Gosnold, the discoverer of 1602, gave the name Marthaes Vineyard, ultimately accepted, to this Island, can be demonstrated beyond doubt.

Immediately after the voyage, in 1602, the name appears in Brereton's published "Relation" of Gosnold's discoveries, as a marginal caption.[1] The next appearances of Martha's Vineyard are in two monumental works, both widely read. In 1624, John Smith's Generall Historie was published, with Martha's Vineyard inserted in the text of an abstract of Brereton's Relation.[2] In 1625, Samuel Purchas, in his great work, Purchas His Pilgrimes, printed a manuscript left by the long deceased Gabriel Archer, in which Marthaes Vineyard occurs three times in his Relation of Gosnold's voyage.[1]

Two documents, unpublished until the nineteenth century, also have the name Martha's Vineyard. One is a manuscript prepared by William Strachey, in Virginia, about 1613, entitled Historie of Travaille into Virginia, giving an account of Gosnold's voyage of 1602.[25] The other is a manuscript map, found at Simancas, Spain, and believed to be a copy of a lost map prepared for King James in 1610.[26] "Marthays" Viniard is shown as a small island southwest of a peninsula of the mainland, west of Cape Cod.

There is also internal evidence, from the two Relations of Gosnold's voyage, that the name was intended for the present Vineyard, and not the offshore Noman's Land, which historians following Jeremy Belknap's

pronouncement of 1798, based on insufficient data, have made the scene of Gosnold's landings.[27]

It is true that both Brereton and Archer seem to describe the Island as an uninhabited one, about the size of Noman's Land, a mile or so in length. But there is reason to believe that this was purposely misleading, to conceal from Sir Walter Raleigh, then holder of the patent to all of the new world, the chief discovery made on an expedition undertaken without his consent, about which he made difficulties on their return.[1]

The place described by Archer and Brereton as the island where a profusion of vines was found, has, according to the latter, a lake a mile in circumference, with streams flowing into it through the woods. Neither Noman's, nor any other islet hereabouts, has such a lake. The island of vines is so large, according to Archer, that to get from its north shore to its northwest shore, the ship weighed anchor, and sailed until evening. There, according to both writers, Indians appeared, with gifts of cooked fish, and of tobacco. Obviously these descriptions of the island of vines are not of Noman's, nor of any other uninhabited isle of similar size.

Archer's measurements place the island exactly. The explorers first came to Marthaes Vineyard eight leagues from "Shole Hope". This is the distance from the Nantucket opening of the Sound to East Chop. At the other end, Archer reports that Marthaes Vineyard is "half a league over the Sound" from Dover Cliff (Gay Head), believed to be a separate island. This is the distance across a chord of Menemsha Bight, from high land to high land. The intervening land from East Chop to Menemsha, is therefore the island named Marthaes Vineyard.

Starting home, the explorers sail five leagues to the place of the vines and of the lake, to get some of the birds they had seen as fledglings. This is the precise distance from Cuttyhunk to Lambert's Cove, where there is such a lake and where wild grapes still flourish. These three measurements, without other corroborative evidence available, identify the island beyond doubt.

This identification is confirmed by Richard Vines, steward for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in his grant conveying "Capawock alias Marthas Vineyard" to Thomas Mayhew.[6] Capawock, or Capawack, was the Indian name of the present Vineyard, as has been previously explained. Gorges and his group got their information from Indians who knew where the English ship of 1602 had made landings.

A theory that the name Martha was "transferred" from Noman's to the larger Island, advanced by Jeremy Belknap,[27] is a makeshift prop for the Noman's theory, and has no foundation. Neither Vines, nor Mayhew, who used Martha's Vineyard in his first township grant of 1642,[6] give any indication that the name was borrowed from the smaller island. Furthermore, no seventeenth century Englishman ever accepted Gosnold's Marthaes Vineyard as a name for Noman's. The first recorded mention of that islet in English sources is under the name Noman's Land in 1666. (Banks, II, Chilmark, p. 72.)

The island was named for Bartholomew Gosnold's oldest child, Martha, baptized at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, on April 24, 1597. This was first announced by Dr. Fulmer Mood, now on the staff at the University of California, in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1929. Dr. Mood had found the entry in the Bury St. Edmunds records published in 1916. Dr. Banks, the island's historian, warmly denied at the time that the father of this child was the explorer. Very recent research, however, has established the virtual certainty of the identification. Bartholomew Gosnold was born in 1571, and was married in 1595, at the age of twenty-four, to a Mary Golding, at Latton in Essex, quite possibly a distant cousin, as he is known to have had two cousins of that name. According to Copinger's Manors of Suffolk, (describing Grundisbugh Hall Manor, the home of Anthony Gosnold, Bartholomew's father), "in 1609 the Lordship was held by Robert Gosnold." As Bartholomew had predeceased his father, the inheritance would go to his oldest son, Anthony's grandson. The Bury St. Edmunds records, after the birth of Martha, give Robert, baptized Oct. 20, 1600, as Bartholomew's oldest son, which may be taken as the long missing link between the explorer born at Grundisburgh and the Bury St. Edmunds family.

Little Martha was presumably named for the Martha Gosnold, gentlewoman, buried at Bury St. Edmunds on Dec. 2, 1598, for whom as yet no place has been found. She may have been the youngest sister of Bartholomew, as the names of his other known sisters come from the will of a greatgrandmother, dated July 20, 1578, while Anthony the father was still in his forties. Elizabeth's Isle, the only other island named by Gosnold, was certainly named for his sister Elizabeth, who married Thomas Tilney. The theory that this island was named for the Queen is fanciful, and easily refuted. Bartholomew Gosnold named both islands for the loved ones of his own immediate family.

XV

The Island's Proprietors

To understand the subsequent history of the name of Martha's Vineyard, it is necessary to review briefly the political background of the claimants to the islands in England.

When Thomas Mayhew bought the islands, he found that there were two conflicting claims, both stemming from the Council in England which held the patent to all of New England. In a distribution in which all the members shared, in 1635, Gorges was given "Capawock and Nautican,"[5] while the Earl of Stirling's grant gave him as he understood it, all the islands west of Cape Cod "not formerly lawfully granted to any by special name[29]. A map which the Earl had had prepared in 1624, shows a recognizable Vineyard, with a smaller island to the east, both without names[29]. These were the islands claimed by the Earl, apparently unaware that they were the Capawack and Nautican granted to Gorges.

The issue of ownership, however, was not one to be decided solely by the priority or validity of the Council's grants; it depended chiefly on the fortunes of the Proprietors in England. Gorges secured a royal charter in 1639 for his Province of Maine, to which the islands were attached. This assured him jurisdiction over them, so long as King Charles was in a position to exert his authority. After the Puritan Rebellion forced him to surrender to the Scotch army in 1646, Gorges' Province of Maine collapsed. Gorges himself died in 1647, leaving politically helpless heirs unable to maintain their rights against the victorious Puritans.

In contrast with this, the Earl of Stirling, a Scotch Presbyterian once high in royal favor, but frustrated by King Charles in his Nova Scotia venture, did not receive, and probably did not seek, royal confirmation of his grants. Instead, he sent over an agent to sell the islands, including Long Island, with instructions that the purchasers were to adopt the Puritan form of government as found in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.[40]

There was this difference, not to be forgotten. The Boston colony had worked out its form of government under a charter from the King; the Stirling settlements lacked this authority. They are in the category described by Charles Deane in Winsor's History of America: "Some of these smaller patents had alleged powers of government[40] granted to the settlers, — powers probably rarely exercised by virtue of such a grant, and which the Council undoubtedly had no authority to confer." (III, p. 341).

But so long as the Puritans were in control in England, there would of course be no interference with settlements set up in this way by the Earl of Stirling. The first Earl died in 1641 without effecting a provincial government; the dowager mother of his grandson, the fourth Earl of Stirling, tried to do so in 1647 through Andrew Forrester, who failed by reason of falling into the hands of the Dutch at Manhattan Island, which he claimed[13].

After the Restoration, the grandson of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, about 1663, set in motion action for the reestablishment of his province. The King, in recognition of the grandfather's loyal support of his father, granted the petition, and a provisional government, monarchical and Episcopal, was set up in 1665. Because of internal dissension between the Puritans and the Monarchists, its tenure of life was brief; by 1668 its power was on the wane. Finally, after long negotiation, Gorges sold his patent to Massachusetts in 1678.[16]

In the meantime, in 1663, the Stirling patent, including Martin's Vineyard and Nantucket mentioned by name, had passed into the hands of the Catholic Duke of York. As the heirs who sold it were never paid, the sale amounted to a confiscatory recall of the patent, doubtless made because the King remembered Stirling's defection in the hour of his father's need. When the English were able to take over New York from the Dutch, the most thoroughly monarchical of all governments in the new

1493241

world was set up. Stirling's provisions for government in the Puritan fashion on Long Island and the other islands were of course ignored. The King and his advisors were evidently not informed that Martin's Vineyard and Nantucket thus turned over to his brother were the Capawock and Nautican of the Province of Maine.

In the light of this survey, it appears that when Thomas Mayhew, in 1641, on the eve of the Puritan Rebellion, received two grants to the same islands, his future was assured no matter what the outcome. Under the grant from Gorges, he was safe in his possession of Martha's Vineyard, if King Charles I was to be victorious. Under the other grant, the same Island, called Martin's Vineyard by the Earl of Stirling, was securely his if the Puritans dethroned the King.

The usage in regard to the name, therefore, depended upon the government in control, or upon recognition of the respective rights, and must be checked against this calendar of changes.

1641-1648, Mayhew, as he says, "remained under Gorges", that is, in the Province of Maine.

1649-1660, Mayhew organized his community, as directed in his Stirling grants,[40] after the fashion in Boston, with a chief magistrate and assistants, duly elected, thereby insuring recognition by his Puritan neighbors.

1661-1671, Mayhew endeavored to return to the jurisdiction of the feeble Maine province. "Generall Nicoll did acknowledge," writes Mayhew in 1675, "that the power of these islands was proper in the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges: I have the testimony of the General Court of Boston for it; which Court sent to the gentleman of the Province of Maine whose answer was, That it was in myself, etc."[30]

In 1667, he had written to Governor Nicolls, "I had soon repaired or sent to New York, but the gentlemen to the eastward they look at it as to government to be under them."

1671-1692, Mayhew, by direction of Governor General Lovelace, submitted to the Province of New York,[39] receiving a commission as Governor of "the Island Martin's or Martha's Vineyard". Under this commission, his rule was absolute.

The story that unfolds under this pattern, no longer a confused intermingling of two rival names, becomes the story of how Mayhew preserved Martha in the name of the Island for posterity. Under the Province of Maine, and by special permission of Lovelace under the Province of New York, he used Martha's Vineyard freely. In contact with Puritan officialdom, and with New York officials who likewise recognized only the Stirling patent, he sometimes found it necessary to use Martin's Vineyard; but this is clearly by way of exception to his preferred practice.

XVI

Under the Province of Maine

As has been stated, Thomas Mayhew received two grants to the Island, one from Gorges' steward, Richard Vines, using the name Martha's Vineyard, the other from James Farrett, agent for the Earl of Stirling, using the name Martin's Vineyard. These were meticulously recorded in New York when Mayhew presented them to Governor Lovelace in 1671, on consecutive pages.[6]

The transcriptions in the Town Records of Edgartown, due to successive copyings down to 1731, are unfortunately badly corrupted. (I, 12, 11, 9).

Dr. Banks, in his History of Martha's Vineyard, for some unknown reason, used these, editing them into respectable documents for publication, by correcting the spelling and generally modernizing them. By this unwarranted procedure, reading Marter's as Marten's, he made it appear that Vines had used the name Martin's Vineyard, an error which invalidates his whole argument for the priority of that name.[33]

Mayhew's decision in 1641 to recognize Gorges' "power" as derived from the King through the royal charter, and to operate as a part of the Province of Maine, using the name Martha's Vineyard for his Island of residence, was based primarily on his religious belief in the divine right of kings, as set forth for instance in Romans 13, verses 1-3. Puritans generally, except for the Cromwellian interregnum, shared in this belief. In the 1675 letter to Andros,[30] Mayhew reports that he could not get assurance from either Farrett or Forrester that Stirling had similar power to govern. In his first Township Grant of 1642, and in later documents he puts the Stirling and Vines grants on a parity so far as the conveyance of land is concerned, but the "power" that meant the right to govern was another matter.

This is why Mayhew held so firmly, first to the Province of Maine, and later to the Province of New York. In this he is to be judged by comparison with the Pilgrims, who tried hard but in vain to get a charter from the King, or with the Puritans, who fought long to retain theirs. Mayhew sought the protection of the charters available. Under both he obtained autonomy, and the privilege of using the name Martha's Vineyard.

Thomas Mayhew's preference for the name Martha is obvious. As an augury of things to come he named his youngest daughter, born about 1642, Martha.[31] There is no record of the baptism of this child; she may have been born and baptized in England, as Dr. Banks mentions that Mayhew's wife went to England that year.[39] There are no other Marthas in Mayhew's family tree, either among his ancestors, or among his descendants, until 1706.

During the years from 1642 to 1646, when Mayhew was preparing a place on the Island for permanent residence,[32] he seems to have made

widely known that the Island was to be known as Martha's Vineyard, its proper name under the monarchical Province of Maine.

The preamble to the first Township Grant, as planned in Watertown in 1642, reads: "Whereas Thomas Mayhew, Senr. and Thomas Mayhew, Junr. have granted to them by Mr. James Farrett and Mr. Richard Vines the Island of Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard and Elizabeth Isles, as by their deeds more plainly appeareth, This is to certify that we the said Thomas and Thomas do hereby grant . . ."[6]

Further evidence that the Mayhews made the Island known, under the Gorges regime, as Martha's Vineyard, comes from a book published in England in 1649, by Edward Winslow, formerly of Plymouth, under the title, "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England, manifested by three letters, under the hand of that famous Instrument of the Lord Mr. John Eliot, and another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew Junr."[12]

One of the letters from Eliot, dated Nov. 12, 1648, has the sentence, "Our Cutshamequin hath some subjects in Martha's Vineyard . . ." Winslow, in introducing Mayhew's letter, says: ". . . his name is Mr. Mayhew, who teacheth the Word both to English and Indians upon an Island called formerly Capawack, by us Morthas Vineyard . . ." [sic]

The use of the name Martha's Vineyard by Eliot and Winslow, as of 1648-1649, is surprising, as the Commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1644, had accepted the Earl of Stirling's name Martin's Vineyard.[39] There are, however, others to be quoted later, (Whitfield, John Wilson, Gookin) in contact with Christian Indians, who likewise unexpectedly use the name Martha. They had learned apparently from these Indians that this was Gosnold's island, called Marthaes Vineyard. Gosnold, and Gorges, and Vines as well, were Episcopalian loyalists, and Mayhew's right to call the Island by their name, Martha's Vineyard, was not questioned at this time by these Puritans.[33]

XVII

The Puritan Martin

The first appearance of Martin in early records occurs in De Laet's New World, 1625, who reports, "About a league and a half from the southwest extremity of this island, Texel, [Capawack] lies another small island, which was named by our countrymen, Hendrick Christiaens Island, and by others Marten Vingers Island."[13]

This application of the name Martin to Noman's is interesting, but was evidently merely a Dutchmen's corruption of Martha. In his 1630 edition, De Laet corrects it to Marthaes Vyneard, with additional information, evidently derived from Archer's Relation published in 1625, as De Laet's translator, J. F. Jameson, remarks in a footnote that De Laet pro-

ceeds "to describe the lesser island in terms fitting the larger!" As a Dutchman's error in pronunciation, this instance of the use of Martin may be dismissed from further consideration.

The name Martin's Vineyard enters our English colonial history at two places. First, it appears in Boston, following the arrival of Mr. Farrett, the Earl of Stirling's agent, in 1637. Second, it appears in New York records, following the sale of the Earl of Stirling's patent to the Duke of York, in 1663. These two lines, like two intersecting lines in geometry, fix upon the Earl of Stirling as the point of origin of the name Martin's Vineyard.

Dr. Banks made an attempt to prove (on page 76) that the larger island was named for Capt. John Martin, associated with Gosnold in Virginia, asserting that Martin was a member of the 1602 expedition.[34] There is no documentary evidence for this assertion and Dr. Banks himself, a few pages earlier (on page 65), gives a list of "the known members of the company" with no Martin among them. In any case, the theory is an impossible one, as it implies that this name, surreptitiously given by Gosnold, was kept a secret for thirty-five years, long after the death of all the leaders, until somehow it was discovered by the Earl of Stirling in 1637.

As there is, therefore, no source from which the Earl of Stirling could have obtained the name Martin's Vineyard, it must be regarded as the Earl's substitute for Martha's Vineyard. A reason for the substitution is readily found. The Earl is believed to have been a kinsman and supporter of the Duke of Argyle, leader of the Presbyterian revolt in Scotland.[29] As such he would have a definite prejudice against the use of the name of a saint, who had from the Scotch point of view been the object of idolatrous worship. But even if the Earl himself did not harbor this extremists' dislike of saints' names, he would have thought it tactless and provocative, to try to sell an island under that name to the Puritans who had gone to Massachusetts because they were extremists.

The Puritan objection to saints' names included any use that might suggest the adoration of a patron saint. Churches and children no longer bore these names, except that children might bear the name of a sovereign. Martha as an island name would suggest to the fanatical Puritan mind the possibility of wayside images for the adoration of the Island's patron saint.

The legendary Martha of Southern France had been popular in England.[35] Caxton's first book, the Golden Legend, 1483, had a chapter on her life. According to the legend, Mary, Martha and their brother Lazarus, persecuted by the Jews, had been set adrift without sails or oars. Miraculously wafted to a delta island at the mouth of the Rhone, they had landed at a place that became the important port of St. Mary's.

St. Martha went north to Tarascon, a town on the Rhone taking its name from a devouring monster, which the saint overcame. She is re-

puted to have lived solely on fruits and herbs, and made her bed of the tendrils of the vine. Although she drank no wine herself, she is credited with having changed water to wine, for the refreshment of visiting bishops. The people of Tarascon lauded her for the fertility of their fields. Her tomb is still visited in the crypt of St. Martha's Church in Tarascon. Although the Catholic Encyclopedia says of these legends (article, Lazarus) that they have "no solid foundation", and disproves them, the Martha and Mary shrines were among the most popular in Southern France for many centuries. She would have been an appropriate patron saint for the Vineyard.

The name Martin, on the other hand, was one in favor with the Puritans. It had been used by Dean Swift in his allegory, Tale of a Tub, describing the three religious groups of his day. Martin was one of the brothers who opposed Peter. A later authority, writing a series of violent anti-episcopal pamphlets, had chosen Martin Mar-Prelate as his pseudonym. (Winsor, History of America, III, 237.) The Earl of Stirling may have thought to honor Martin Pring, who was erroneously believed to have spent the summer of 1603 on the Vineyard. (Smith, in his General Historie, in the Abstract of Pring's Relation, remarks "for the most part they followed the course of Captaine Gosnoll".)[2]

XVIII

As Stirling Planned It

The first use of Martin's Vineyard found by Dr. Banks is that by John Underhill in 1638, who includes Nahanticot, Martin's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands in a list of "places yet uninhabited" that "generally afford good accomodation".[24] Dr. Banks, however, failed to note that this was written immediately after the appearance in Boston of Mr. Farrett, the Earl's agent sent over to sell these islands. Lechford, writing in 1641, also notes that Martin's Vineyard is "uninhabited by any English", but warns that the Indians are very savage.[23] Another early use, overlooked by Dr. Banks, is found in Roger Williams' "Key", 1643, who describes a visit to Martin's Vineyard.[17] It may be assumed that Farrett passed through Providence on his way to and from Long Island in 1637, and had conference with Williams.

In December, 1643, Governor John Winthrop notes in his Journal[36] that "some of Watertown began a plantation at Martin's Vineyard". His aid had been enlisted by James Farrett; Farrett names him in the grant to Mayhew as arbiter in case of dispute in the annual payments.[40] In September, 1644, the Commissioners of the United Colonies authorized Massachusetts to "receive Martin's Vineyard into their jurisdiction, if they saw cause",[93] This, of course, was not done, but the choice of the name Martin's Vineyard is without doubt a deliberate acceptance of the Stirling name for the Island.

Political considerations were probably primary in the decision. Gorges had plotted in 1631 against the Boston colony. Again in 1635, according to Bradford, he had planned, at the instigation of Archbishop Laud, to bring over bishops to regulate ecclesiastical matters in the colonies.[7] In 1643, in England, Gorges had been one of the leaders in the capture of Bristol for the Royalists, a serious setback to the Puritan cause.[5] The Earl of Stirling, on the other hand, in this colonization venture at least, had been definitely on the side of the Puritans.

At the same time, these New England governors most certainly believed the name Martin more suitable for Puritan New England. The discoverer's name, Martha's Vineyard, was known to them; Bradford, if not the others, had a copy of Purchas His Pilgrimes, quoted by book and page in his account of Dermer.[7] They could have corrected Farrett, if they had thought Martin's Vineyard was a chance error or misunderstanding. Its acceptance therefore implies that they had a compelling sectarian motive for preferring it — their deep prejudice against the use of saints' names.

This choice of Martin's Vineyard by Governor Winthrop and the Commissioners of the United Colonies made the name the official designation to be used by Puritans. However long a list may be made of the occurrences of Martin's Vineyard in Puritan sources, it means nothing more than that the Stirling substitute for Martha's Vineyard was accepted by them, and was used as long as they felt bound to uphold the Stirling claim.

While Mayhew was undoubtedly sincere in his belated affiliation with the Puritans, in his 41st year after three years' residence in Massachusetts,[39] there is reason to believe that he was by no means a militant Puritan in polity and politics. During his formative, childhood years in England, the Catholic cultus still lingered on. His cousins are known to have held to the Catholic faith long after it was under the ban.[39] The positive evidence, however, lies in the fact that he was quite happy in his submission to the Episcopal Province of Maine, and later, to the Catholic Governor of New York, in sharp contrast to the sterner Puritans in Maine and on the islands, including Long Island, who fought their monarchical governments at every turn. Puritan objections to the name Martha would seem therefore to Thomas Mayhew a matter of extreme and unreasonable fanaticism, a point of view in which the Puritans of a later generation concurred.

Nevertheless, with the collapse of King Charles' forces in 1646, Mayhew began to show caution in the use of the name Martha's Vineyard. The second township grant, made on the Island in 1646, is to "the men now inhabiting upon the Island namely the Vineyard". Thus initiates a practice, followed throughout later years, of avoiding the use of either name in correspondence and in Island documents.

Young Mayhew's letter in Winslow's Good Prospect[12] is dated "Great Harbour on the Vineyard", and this, or simply "Upon the Vine-

yard" is the general usage of both father and son. It is undoubtedly reflects a quandary. Governor Winthrop, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies, supplying the funds for missionary work, use Martin's Vineyard. Thomas Mayhew does not like it, but he refrains from giving offense by persisting in the use of Martha's Vineyard, while he was perforce operating under the terms of the Stirling grant.

The fragmentary records of the years prior to 1663 preserved in a later town book yield only one or two instances of the use of Martin's Vineyard by Island residents in the Stirling period, when its use must have been the rule. There happen however to be two off-Island sources bearing testimony to Mayhew's personal adherence to the name Martha's Vineyard, during the time that officially he was expected to use the Martin of the Stirling patent.

The words, "Some call it Marthaes Vineyard," are found as a cut-in note in Henry Whitfield's Light Appearing, published in London in 1651.[37] The significance of this lies in the fact that Whitfield had spent ten days with the Mayhews on the Vineyard, because, on his way to take ship to England, "by reason of contrary winds," he had been forced to put in "at an island called Martin's Vineyard". The alternative name Marthaes Vineyard, supplied in the note, uses the obsolete possessive ending as it occurs in the narratives of Gosnold's discovery. It is fairly obvious that Thomas Mayhew had called Whitfield's attention to the fact that the Island had been so named originally.

Another instance of the use of Martha as the result of contact with the Mayhews in this period occurs in a letter written by the Rev. John Wilson. of Boston, who tells of a visit made to him by "a prime Indian at Martha's Vineyard, with Mr. Mahewe".[33] This was the younger Thomas Mayhew, who acted as interpreter in presenting one of his converts to the Boston clergyman.

These occurrences of Martha's Vineyard in the Stirling period of the Island's history are to be regarded as exceptional. In general, Plymouth and the Massachusetts colony were using Martin's Vineyard. To this usage the Mayhews conformed in matters that might come before courts and other civil authorities on the mainland.

Unquestionable evidence of Mayhew's use of Martin in this way is found in the two deeds of 1659, recorded in New York,[6] conveying Nantucket and Tuckernuck. In these, Mayhew describes himself as of Martin's Vineyard, thus identifying himself in that transaction as the holder of the "Puritan" grant from the Earl of Stirling.

XIX

The Return To Maine

The Restoration era, with its rebirth of the Province of Maine, began about 1661. The last deputy governor of the original province, Henry Joselyn, at that time initiated his protests against further domination of

Maine by the Massachusetts colony.[16] Concurrently, on the Vineyard, Thomas Mayhew persuaded the freeholders to sign a document acknowledging him to be "the single person", that is, the sole authority, under the (Gorges) patent. (Banks, I, pp 134-135)

In 1663, the name Martha's Vineyard suddenly makes its appearance in the Town Records. The book now treasured as Volume I, compiled from older books no longer extant, preserves in part at least the arrangement of a book started Dec. 30, 1663, by Richard Sarson, son-in-law of Thomas Mayhew. On page one, as newly elected recorder, he entered a list of his own lands "confirmed by the Town", mentioning also his "seven and thirty(eth) part of this Township upon the Island Martha's Vineyard".[33] It was his intention apparently to reserve the first thirty-seven pages for these lists of land of the shareholders, as there are a number of similar entries on the following pages. Entries of 1666, 1668, 1671 and 1676 likewise describe the listed lands as on Martha's Vineyard, others in the same series using merely "the Vineyard", or "this Island".

Another change in usage due to the Restoration is discernible in letters to the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel, chartered by Charles II in 1662. The first corporation, which had been set up in 1649 by an act of the Puritan Parliament, appointed the Commissioners of the United Colonies to act as their agents in New England. These gentlemen, as has been pointed out, regularly used Martin's Vineyard, as may be seen in their records.

When they were re-appointed as agents of the new corporation set up by the King, they addressed a letter dated Sept. 10, 1662, to Robert Boyle, governor of the corporation.[20] In this, they mention a report from the Rev. John Eliot that baptisms were to be administered at a plantation "called Martha's Vineyard", (Attached to this letter as given by Daniel Gookin in his Indian Collections is a transcript of the year's disbursements· in which Martin's Vineyard occurs as usual.)

Another letter using Martha in adressing Charles II's new corporation is from John Winthrop Jr., written Nov. 3, 1662, to Robert Boyle on behalf of the widow of Thomas Mayhew Jr., "who had been in his life time a preacher to the Indians at a place called Martha's Vineyard".[38]

Daniel Gookin's Historical Collections of the Indians in New England,[20] sent in manuscript to the corporation in 1674, is dedicated to Charles II. The treatise uses Martha's Vineyard throughout, except that the chapter on the Island has the complete identification, "Martha's Vineyard, or Martin's Vineyard, called by the Indians Nope, . . ." There are many references to Martha's Vineyard, dating back to 1649, all used as though this had always been the name of the Island.

The precaution of using Martha's Vineyard in addressing Charles II's appointees, perhaps intended as a reminder that the Island belonged to the Province of Maine, served no purpose, as a year later the King's Ministers, purchasing the Stirling patent, accepted Martin's Vineyard as the legal name of the Island.

XX

Annexed by New York

Toward the end of 1669, Thomas Mayhew received a letter from Governor Lovelace of New York in the matter of a shipwreck at Martyn's Vineyard· in which it was kindly, but firmly intimated that Lovelace intended to exert his authority over the Island.[39] In all the ensuing correspondence, down to 1715, the New York officials use the name Martin's Vineyard.

Again an imposing list may be made of the documentary occurrences of this name, but it means nothing more than that the Island was so designated in the papers handed over by the heirs of the Earl of Stirling, when the patent was sold to the Duke of York. Like bureaucrats the world over, the New York officials were guided by what they found in their files. The amusing anti-climax came when a zealous official in 1723, who knew his files, but not that the Vineyard had long since passed under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, wrote to ask why New York had not been receiving its quit rent of six barrels of fish from "the loyal inhabitants of Martin's Vineyard".[39]

When Thomas Mayhew after long hesitation arrived at the conviction that the Province of Maine was unable to hold the islands against the claims of the King's brother, he went to New York to submit to the new jurisdiction, in July, 1671.[39] There somehow he found favor in the Governor General's eyes. He obtained not only a commission as governor for himself, but persuaded the ambiable Lovelace to designate the Island as "Martin's or Martha's Vineyard". Both the title and the name Martha were slightly irregular from the point of view of New York officialdom. The title of governor was not handed on to Matthew Mayhew, heir of his grandfather's powers;[39] and the Stirling name, Martin's Vineyard, continued in use by New York officials.

Although Lovelace was willing to write the name Martha's Vineyard into Mayhew's commission, he could not change the wording of his own commission from the Duke. Thus there arises the curious circumstance that when Mayhew's rights were re-affirmed, under royal authority, as derived from the Stirling patent, he obtained the privilege from Governor General Lovelace of using Martha's Vineyard, the designation given in the Gorges grant, without thereby affecting the legal status of the name Martin's Vineyard in New York.

Lovelace covered this irregularity by using neither name in the patents incorporating Edgartown, Tisbury and the Manor of Tisbury, copies of which would be sent to his superiors in London. In all three, the clause that should contain the name reads:[39] "Whereas there is a certain island within these his Royal Highness his territories lying and being to the northwest of the Island Nantucket, . . ." In these same patents, however, there occurs later a sentence which should be remembered as the reason New York was under compulsion to use the name Martin's

Vineyard:—"Know ye that by virtue of the commission and authority unto me given by his Royal Highness, upon whom (as well by the resignation and assignment of the heirs of the said William Earl of Stirling as also by grant and patent from his Royal Majesty Charles the Second) the propriety and government of Long Island, Martin's Vineyard, Nantucket and all the islands adjacent is settled, . . . I have given and granted . . . the freeholders . . . the land whereon the said town is settled."

Not in the least concerned by the fact that Charles II had accepted Martin's Vineyard as the name given by the Earl of Stirling, Governor Mayhew returned happily to his Island, and in the course of time set up the "General Court of Martha's Vineyard", over which he was to preside as chief magistrate by appointment of Governor General Lovelace.[39] Thus the name Martha's Vineyard was firmly established on the Island. It should be noted, however, that inasmuch as Lovelace's successors continued to use Martin's Vineyard, Mayhew in writing to them used the same designation in tactful conformity.

Mayhew's renewed confidence in his right to use the name Martha's Vineyard in granting land on the Island may be seen in a comparison of the West Tisbury and Tisbury grants.[39] In 1668, giving permission for settlement at Takemmy, he refers to his title from Stirling and Gorges "for this Island, the Vineyard". In 1673, the grant of Holmes Neck is prefaced thus: "Forasmuch as I, Thomas Mayhew, have received some instructions from the Governor General Lovelace of the Province, and for the peaceable government and well ordering of this Island called Martha's Vineyard, . . ." This document is proudly signed, "By me, Thomas Mayhew, Governour."

On the Puritan mainland there were of course those who continued to use the accustomed Martin's Vineyard; and the name appears in Plymouth records long after the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony had turned to Martha's Vineyard as the preferred name.[39] On the Island itself, militant Puritan anti-monarchists led by Simon Athearn, who naively conceived that they were entitled to democratic privileges under the Stirling patent, as late as 1691, were complaining bitterly about the Mayhew government on "Martains Vineyard".[39] But in 1681, Gov. Thomas Meyhew went to his rest assured that his Island was to be forever known as Martha's Vineyard.

Just when the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony dropped Martin in favor of Martha has not been disclosed by any records yet brought to light, except one of Oct. 8, 1678. This is a committee report on the purchase of the Province of Maine. The seventh and last reason for recommending the purchase is given thus:—"7. The interest that we hereby have in the Islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard . . . is to be considered a matter of weight." The report was written by Daniel Gookin.[16]

It can be readily understood that the leaders of the Boston colony, knowing that the Catholic duke had taken over the Island, were no longer

interested in maintaining that it was the Martin's Vineyard of the Stirling patent, but rather, hoped to get control of it as the Martha's Vineyard of the Province of Maine. Owing to their difficulties with Charles II, after the purchase, they were unable to make good their claim until the reign of William and Mary.

XXI

In Massachusetts

In the last quarter of the century, Puritanism had grown far more tolerant. The report just quoted recognizes the right of the established Church of England in Maine to continue its worship. The recrudescence of idolatrous practices was no longer feared. Saints' names began to appear again in the family trees. When therefore in 1692, Governor Phips arrived in Boston with the new charter from William and Mary, incorporating the Gorges islands, "Capawick and Nantucket," into the Massachusetts colony,[39] there were no memories of the apprehensions that had seemed real a half century before; Martha's Vineyard was now a good and acceptable name to everyone, as it is today.

By one of those curious cycles so frequent in history, there came a return to the starting point; for in its first legislation for the Island, the new General Court of Governor Phips identified it as "Capawock alias Martha's Vineyard".[39]

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES

1

A Briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia, (etc.) By John Brereton, London, 1602. Stationers Hall, Oct. 29, 1602.

Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrims. Four Volumes. By the Rev. Samuel Purchas, London, 1625.

Contains: Vol. IV. Gosnold's Letter to his Father, Lib. VIII, Chap. 10, p. 1646; Relation of Gosnols Voyage, by Gabriel Archer, Book VIII, Chap. 11, pp. 1647-1651; Notes from Brereton's Relation, credited to James Rosier, Book VIII, Chap. 11 (bis), p. 1651 ff; and Dermer's Letter to Samuel Purchas, Book IX, pp. 1778-1779. Vol. V. (1626) References to Gosnold's Voyage, Book 8, Chap. 5, p. 829.

Convenient reprints of the above are found in: Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims and Puritans, by Charles H. Levermore, Two volumes, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1912; and in part in: Sailors Narratives, by George Parker Winship, Boston, 1905. Winship prints also, Verrazano's Letter of 1524.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to Sir Robert Cecil requesting confiscation of the cargo of the Concord is printed in Vol. II, pp. 251-253, Edward Edwards, The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, London, 1868; also by Dr. Benjamin F. De Costa, in the N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register, January, 1878.

2

Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, edited by Edward Arber, F. S. A. New Edition, Ed., A. G. Bradley, Edinburgh, 1910.

Passages from the Description of New England (pp. 175-232) are repeated, sometimes revised, in the Generall Historie (pp. 275-784)

References: Capawack as destination, 205, 720; attempted plantation, 217ff, 731ff; Epenow, 264, 701; Hunt 219-220, 264, 698-699; Dermer, reference from Rolfe, 542. From New Englands Trials (pp. 249-272), repeated in the Generall Historie: Dermer and Rowcroft, 258, 747; 265, 770. From the Advertisements: The Isles of Nauset and Capawack, 938. Abstracts: Brereton's Relation, pp. 332-335, adding the clause "which made us call it Martha's Vineyard." Mourt and Winslow, 749-769, (Massasoit's Confession, 764; Squanto, 754-755.) Harlow's Relation, pp. 696-697, (Capture of Epenow at Capawe.)

Arber's comment on Smith's frustrated plan to settle Capawuck, on p. cxxiii.

3

A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England. (The President and Council of New England). London, 1622. Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Coll. Second Series, Vol. IX, pp. 2-25.

Contains, pages 2-13, accounts of Hobson and Herley [Harlow] expedition with Epenow, Hunt's slave raid, John Smith's planned plantation and failure, and Dermer's expeditions, all meagre in detail.

Briefe Narration of the Original Undertakings of the advancement of Plantations etc. By Sir Ferdinando Gorges, London, 1658. Reprinted in Baxter's Life of Gorges, see below.

This was written shortly before Gorges' death in 1647, and repeats in greater detail, the events described in the Brief Relation, above. It shows, however, frequent lapses of memory. The material relating to Hobson, Harlow, Epenow and Dermer is found in Chapters XI to XV.

4

Gorges, in his Briefe Narration, mistakenly reports that Epenow was captured in Hunt's Raid. Epenow had been with Harlow, his captor, for two or three years when he sailed from England in June, 1614. In that same month, Hunt was still in Maine (plotting the raid), as Smith, who arrived in Plymouth Aug. 5, 1614, reports that he had left him there. Dr. Banks' statement (Hist. M. V. p. 67), is confused because he failed to note in reading Smith that Epenow was captured by Harlow at Capawack.

5

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine, Ed. by James Phinney Baxter, Prince Society, Boston, 1890.

Contains an account of his life, with references to Richard Vines, etc. Reprints Brief Relation of the Council of New England, the Briefe Narration, the Charter of the Province in 1639, and papers in connection with the restoration of the Province, 1663-4, in Volume 3, pp. 303-306.

6

"New York Deeds' are in manuscript volumes in the Division of the Land Office, Department of State, State of New York, at Albany, N. Y. Many of these relating to the Vineyard were published by F. B. Hough, in Papers Relating to Nantucket, Albany, 1856. A more complete collection, reported to the writer by Mr. Stuart C. Sherman, is to be found in V. H. Paltsits, Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, 2 vols., Albany, 1910.

The following is a list of the documents in photostats obtained by the writer from the Secretary of the Land Board, Department of State, N. Y., Mr. Arthur J. McLoughlin.

From Volume III of the New York Deeds:

p. 64 Certain Deeds . . . recorded of Mr. Mayhew . . . 16 July, 1671.
64—65 Deed of Nantucket, from Forrett to Mayhew. (Marg. Recorded also Folio 55.)
65 Deed of Martin's Vineyard, etc., from Forrett to Mayhew.
66 Deed of Capawack also Martha's Vineyard, from Vines to Mayhew.
66—67 Confirmation of Sale by Wasutton to Thomas Mayhew, Jr. [Chilmark].
67—68 Grant from Mayhew to Peabody et al to buy land from Sachem of Takemmy.
68 Mayhew's Township Grant to "men now inhabiting," Dec. 4, 1646.
69 Mayhew empowered by Wilcock of Plymouth to act in matter of two small islands.
"Here follows the Entry of all those Writings or Instruments that Mr. Mayhew had granted him from the Governor."
70 Commission of Mayhew as Governor of "Martin's or Martha's Vineyard."
71 License of Mayhew to purchase land from the Indians.
71—73 Mr. Mayhew's Instructions from the Governor.
73—74 Commission to Matthew Mayhew to be Collector of Customs.
74 Letter from Lovelace to Governor of Plymouth recommending compensation to Mayhew for instructing the Indians.
75—76 The Answer to Mr. Mayhew's Proposals. At a Councell held 7 July, 1671, it is ordered that Mayhew be Governor, etc.
76—77 Deed of Nantucket from Forrett to Mayhew. [Duplicate of recording on p. 65]

---

56 Recorded for Coffin and Macy. Mayhew's Deed of Nantucket to Coffin, et al.
57 Recorded for Coffin and Macy. Mayhew's Deed of Tuckanuck to Coffin.
60—62 Answer to Nantucket Proposals. At a Councell 28 June, 1671.
62 Commission to Tristram Coffin as Chief Magistrate.

From Vol. I of the New York Deeds (among papers relating to Nantucket, recorded 1674):

71—72 Deed of Nantucket, from Forrett to Mayhew, signed Philip Watson, Clark.

72 Deed of Martha's Vineyard, etc., from Forrett to Mayhew. (See Note below).

73 Mayhew's First and Second Township Grants, with comments by eight opponents of Mayhew. Attested by John Birchard.

Note: The version of Forrett's Deed on p. 72, Vol. I, using Martha's Vineyard, shows obvious transcription errors, when compared with the form in Book III, p. 65. It is evident that Philip Watson, Clark, was accustomed to change Martin's to Martha's, when copying old documents. Womsettan's Deed to Brenton (see below) was likewise changed in recording at Edgartown. Hough's Nantucket Papers, ascribing the document to both Vol. I, p. 72 and Vol. III, p. 65, followed the later version in Vol. I, giving Martha's Vineyard, without noting that the original version in Vol. III, recorded for Mayhew in 1671, had Martin's Vineyard.

From Vol. III of New York Patents.

48—49 Recorded for William Brenton and Company. Deed of 8 March 1661-1662, from Womsettan als Alexander (Wamsutta) conveying "all his right, title and interest of or in the Island called Nope als Martyn's Vyneyard" to William Brenton and Company of Newport.

The copy of this deed recorded at Edgartown Sept. 5, 1712, Book 3, page 13, using the name "nope (alias) marthas vineyard", is endorsed "Entered in the office of Records at fort James in N: york ye 8th: September: 1670 Matthias Nicolls."

7

Of Plimouth Plantation, by William Bradford. Boston, 1899.

References: Treaty with Massasoit, p. 114; Squanto and Dermer, 116-118; Great Pestilence, 123; Capawack offers friendship. 125; William Trevore recommends Capawack for settlement, 148; Bradford's attempt to reach the islands, p. 154; Bill of Richard Vines, 338; opposition of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, 355ff, 390.

(Dr. Banks made no use of these references to Capawack in Bradford's History.)

8

The evidence that the Great Sachems of Pokonoket, heads of the Wampanoag, were the overlords of the island, comes from Daniel Gookin, Indian Collections, (Note 20), from Massasoit's "approbation" of the sale of land to Thomas Mayhew, Jr., (Note 6), from the sale by his son Wamsutta of his rights on Martha's Vineyard and of Gay Head to Mr. William Brenton, (Note 19), and from the following entry in the Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. IV, p. 164, for July 2, 1667: (Spelling modernized). "The said Sachem Philip still protested his innocency and faithfulness to the English, by whom himself and progenitors had been preserved from being ruined by the Narragansetts, those potent enemies, pleading how irrational thing it were that he should desert his long experienced friends the English, and comply with the French or Dutch, who had the last year killed and carried eighteen persons, both men and women, of his from Martin's Vineyard . . ." (Contributed in original transcription by Mr. Marshall Shepard.)

9

The form Nautican is probably the result of Gorges' faulty memory for names. There is no uniformity in his spelling of them. He writes Herley for Harlow,

and spells Capawack and Epenow variously. He could easily have changed Natucke, or whatever form Dermer gave him, to Nautican. The first two recorders of the name before 1641 give the initial syllable as Na—. De Laet's map of 1630 has Natocko. In 1634, Capt. Peirce has Natuckett (Note 14). In 1638, Underhill spells it Nahanticot (Note 24). In 1641, Farrett in his grant to Mayhew uses Nantuckett, the first known appearance of the modern form, as his source is not of record.

There is a strange divergence of opinion in regard to the meaning, according to a footnote in Starbuck's History of Nantucket, p. 6. The writer, taking a hint from Underhill's spelling, finds in Trumbull's Natick Dictionary that nahen, an adverb, means "almost, or nigh to," tuk means "a flowing river, waves, or rough water," and —et is the usual suffix of place. These would yield the simple and appropriate meaning, "Almost at the rough water," or, "Where you draw nigh to the 'broken' water," As Indian names are usually contracted forms, nahen would be contracted to either Na— or Nan—.

10

Richard Vine's important role in Maine is noted in Justin Winsor's History of America, Vol. III. De Costa, in Chap. VI, p. 182, says: "About this time [1618] that poorly known character Sir [sic] Richard Vines, passed a winter on the coast, probably at Saco, sleeping in the cabins of the Indians, and escaping the great plague, which swept away so many of the sagamores." Deane, in Chap. IX, p. 303, says: "His [Gorges] servant, Richard Vines, a highly respectable man, was sent out to the coast for trade and discovery, and spent some time in the country; he is supposed to have passed one winter during a great plague among the Indians, — perhaps that of 1616-17, — at the mouth of the Saco River." On pp. 322-323, Deane reports that in 1636, Capt. William Gorges brought him a commission as councillor of the province; and when this Deputy Governor sailed for England in 1643, he left Richard Vines at the head of the government.' In 1645, the Court, not having heard from the proprietor, appointed Richard Vines as Deputy Governor, and if he departed within the year (to Barbadoes) Henry Josselyn was to take his place." (See also Note 5.)

Old Settlers, by William Willis, in the N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register for 1848, Vol. II, p. 204ff. has a discussion of Henry Jocelyn (Josselyn), mentioning his succession to Richard Vines, and his later efforts in the restoration.

Extracts from the Records of the Province of Maine, printed in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections for 1792, First Series, Vol. I, pp. 101 ff, reprints a few documents from 1640 to 1647, including the election of Richard Vines as Deputy Governor.

11

Relation or Journal of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimouth in New England, etc. Preface signed by G. Mourt. London, 1622. The paragraph quoted was taken from a letter signed E. W. [Edward Winslow], dated Dec. 11, 1621, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Second Series, Vol. IX, pages 60-63. (This is in the parts omitted in Purchas' abridgement, printed Mass. Hist. Coll. First Series, VIII, p. 203ff.)

12

Good News from New England. By Edward Winslow. London, 1624. An abridgement made by Purchas was printed in Mass. Hist. Coll. First Series, VIII, 239-276,

with the omitted portions in the Second Series, IX, 74-104. (It is printed entire in Young's Chronicles, 1841, and in the Congregational Board's Edition of Morton's Memorial, 1855.)

The citation of Massasoit's confession of the plot against the English, involving Capawack, was taken from Hist. Coll. VIII, 262. Dr. Banks quoted this passage, somewhat altered, from Smith's Abstract of Winslow in his Generall Historie. Banks I, p. 70.

The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England. Manifested by three Letters, under the Hand of that famous Instrument of the Lord Mr. John Eliot, and another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew jun. By Edward Winslow. London, 1649. Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Coll. Third Series, IV, quotations from pages 76 and 84.

Eliot's use of Martha's Vineyard; Mayhew's letter introduced by sentence containing "called formerly Capawack, by us Mortha's Vineyard." Banks quotes the letter in full (Banks I, p. 215) but omits mention of the use of "Martha's Vineyard."

13

Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664. Ed. J. F. Jameson, New York, 1909.

Contains extracts from De Laet, The New World, first edition, 1625. Book III, Chapter 8, pages 40-41 in this edition, has the references to the islands. The Representation of New Netherland, published in Amsterdam in 1650, has in this edition on pages 307-8 an account of the attempts of the Stirling agents to take over Long Island, including Forrester's claim to Manhattan Island.

14

Peirce's voyage is chronicled in Winthrop's "History of New England," ed. Savage, I, pp. 175-176 [147]. "The Rebecca came from Narigansett with five hundred bushels of corn given to Mr. John Oldham. The Indians had promised him one thousand bushels, but their store fell out less than expected . . . Mr. Peirce took the height there, and found it forty-one degrees, forty-one minutes, being not above half a degree to the southward of us. In his voyage to and fro, he went over the shoals, having, most part, five or six fathom, within half a mile and less of the shore from the north part of Cape Cod to Natuckett Island, which is about twenty leagues — and, in the shallowest place, two and a half fathom . . . Natuckett is an island full of Indians, about ten leagues in length east and west." (Contributed by Mr. Francis A. Foster).

Note: As Martha's Vineyard is not mentioned, it is to be presumed that coasting along south of the islands, he saw them as one, although the measure, much too long for Nantucket, Tuckernuck and Muskeget, is not long enough to include all of Martha's Vineyard as well.

15

New England's Memorial. By Nathaniel Morton. First edition, Cambridge, 1669. Fifth edition, ed. John Davis, Boston, 1826.

Only reference to the Vineyard is in the footnote to Capawack, and a brief account of the Rev. Thomas Mayhew's death in 1657. (Pages 58 and 274, 5th edition).

16

The circumstances surrounding the end of the Province of Maine are discussed by Charles Deane, in Vol. III, Chap. 9, p. 325-326, of Justin Winsor's History of America. "The Government established by the Royal Commissioners in the

Province of Maine never possessed any permanent principle or power to give sanction to its authority, and in 1668, it had nearly died out;" . . .

After hearing the testimony of agents summoned to England from Massachusetts in March, 1676, "the authorities decided . . . that the government of Maine belonged to the heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Soon after this decision, an agent of Massachusetts made a proposition for the purchase of the Province, which was accepted; and in March, 1678, Ferdinando Gorges transferred his title for £ 1,250, and Massachusetts became lord-paramount of Maine. The proceeding was a surprise to the inhabitants of the Province, and, as might have been expected, gave offence to the King, who ineffectually demanded that the bargain should be cancelled."

That the Massachusetts authorities understood that jurisdiction over Martha's Vineyard went with the purchase of the Province, appears from a report recorded October 8, 1678 of a Committee of the General Court of Massachusetts appointed to consider the purchase. (This came to the writer's attention in Frederick W. Gookin's book on Major General Daniel Gookin, Chicago, Privately Printed, 1912, who prints it in full on pages 123-125, quoted from "Coll. Maine Hist. Soc. Doc. History of Maine, iv, 382-385.") The report was written by Daniel Gookin, who headed the Committee. Reason No. 7 for making the purchase reads in part: "The interest that wee herby have in the Ilands of Nantucket and Marthas Vineyard . . . is to bee considered as a matter of waight." In answering objections to the purchase, a tolerant attitude is taken toward the continuance of the established Church of England in Maine.

17

Key into the Language of America. By Roger Williams. London, 1643. Reprinted by the Tercentenary Committee, Providence, 1936.

Visits to the island on pages 20 and 92. Cuppimachaug, p. 72.

18

Indian Place Names, by Fannie Hardy Eckstrom, University Press, Orono, Maine, 1941. Capanawhagan, etc., pp. 123-124.

The meaning of Capahowosick, communicated by Mrs. J. A. Johnston of the Virginia Historical Society, was taken from the William and Mary Quarterly, First Series, Vol. 14, p. 63, in an article "Meaning of some Indian Names."

In manuscript notes on the Indian names of the Vineyard made by the late Prof. Edward S. Burgess, recently acquired by the Dukes County Historical Society, Capawack is taken to mean "Harbor Place." Roger William's "cappacommock," refuge or hiding place, does not occur among Prof. Burgess' dozen or more forms for comparison, so that he evidently did not consider it. Whether capa- means specifically a harbor (Burgess suggests Edgartown rather than Vineyard Haven), or whether it means a refuge place in general, is a problem in interpreting the Indian mind, rather than a matter of etymology. The writer sees no reason to think that Indians were particularly interested in harbors as such.

In interpreting "Cappa-aquit" (Noman's), Prof. Burgess applies only the meanings "overcast" and "surrounded," deciding apparently on the latter, giving "enclosed by the sea, the surrounded land" as the meaning. Again he apparently did not consider the fact that the Indians would naturally use the island as a "refuge" for their women and children in war time.

The meaning of Natick, near Boston, is discussed by Judge William Tooker in his "Significance of John Eliot's Natick . . . ", according to a report from the Reference Depart-

ment of the Boston Public Library. The traditional meaning, "place of hills," was supplied by an old Indian named Ephraim. Judge Tooker disputes this meaning, substituting "place of our search." While the writer has not seen the full discussion, it is evident that Tooker derives the name from the stem nat—, meaning search, which Experience Mayhew used in translating "Search the Scriptures." (See reproduction of title page, Banks, opp. I, p. 250). Bringing together the common characteristics of the Natick hills, and of our Natick (Cape Pogue), it is obvious that both are places of observation, for "searching" the surrounding territory. Old Ephraim in Indian fashion was evidently thinking of the hills in utilitarian terms, as outlook points; and Judge Tooker undoubtedly gives the correct stem.

19

For Nope, Banks cites in addition to Thomas Mayhew, Jr., (I, p. 33f.), Gookin— 1674, a Barnstable Deed — 1680, and Cotton — 1727. No early Vineyard use appears. To these however should be added Sachem Womsettan (Wamsutta) — 1662, in his deed to Brenton, (see Note 6), who uses "Nope alias Martyns Vyneyard."

There is no documentary authority of the form Noe-pe, introduced by Dr. Banks as the basis of a fanciful derivation, "amid the waters." Everything that Trumbull has to say in his Natick Dictionary about the stems involved makes the derivation improbable. Noeu or Noe always retains the second syllable in compounds, and knowing this, Mayhew and Cotton would not have omitted it, particularly as "no—" alone means "distant," not "in the middle of." Also, —pe is not used in compounds, always —pog, for "water." Finally the stem n'pe "distinguishes water at rest, standing water, or placed water." It does not have the meaning "tidal water," which Dr. Banks ascribes to it. The word for tidal water is "tuk".

The writer has nothing to offer as a substitute meaning, unless "nope" happens to be a Vineyard dialect variant of the common word for water, given by Trumbull as nippe or nuppe, also meaning "where there is water." No name could be more appropriate for the Vineyard with its amazing springs.

20

Historical Collections of the Indians in New England, by Daniel Gookin. First printed from the original manuscript in Mass. Hist. Coll. First Series, Vol. I, 141-232, (1792). Dated, Cambridge in New England, Dec. 7, 1674.

Contains: P. 148, Chief Sachems of the Pawkunnawkutts hold dominion over Nantucket and Nope, or Martha's Vineyard. p. 154-155 Hiacomes of Nope or Martha's Vineyard at Watertown, 1649. p. 172, Cotton and the Mayhews at Martha's Vineyard. p. 173, Joel and Caleb, Indian youths of Martha's Vineyard at Harvard. p. 201ff. Chapter IX, Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. "Martha's Vineyard, or Martin's Vineyard, called by the Indians Nope." Mayhew in 1642 transplanted to the island. Death of Thomas Mayhew, Jr. Letter from Cotton, with list of towns on the Vineyard. Letter from Gov. Mayhew. Report on Nantucket. p. 217, Baptism on the Vineyard, in United Colonies letter to Boyle. p. 221, proposal for school to take in Indian children of Martha's Vineyard. See also, Postscript, p. 224 and Contents, p. 227.

21

The history of the "Smith Farm" has been worked out from papers in the possession of Mr. Harold Webb, descendant of the Joseph-Isaac-Darius Norton line (Banks III, p. 360), and resident in the ancestral Norton farm house, adjacent to the Smith Farm. These farms are a part of the Thomas Daggett half-share in the New Purchase, divided in 1673 (Banks, Annals Edgartown, p. 32.) This half-share passed into the possession of Joseph Norton, thence to his son Isaac, who divided it, deeding a part to each of his six sons. The farm deeded to Jabez Norton was

later deeded to John Smith, from whom it was handed down to the recent Smith owners.

The relation of this area purchased by Mayhew by vote of 1653, to the Indian villages at Sengekontacket and on the Lagoon remains obscure. The deed from Isaac Norton to his son Elijah, in 1790, mentions "a line drawn from the land of the heirs of Joshua Packanash near my dwelling house." These may be the last survivors of the village at the site.

22

An Account of Two Voyages to New England. John Josselyn. London, 1674. (3 Mass. Hist Coll. iii).

P. 125-126 ". . . seised a boat . . . killed the men and eat them up . . . " p. 316, mention of Martin's Vineyard and Mayhew. (Contributed by Mr. Stuart C. Sherman).

23

Plain Dealing, by Thomas Lechford. London, 1642. (3 Mass. Hist. Coll. iii, also Ed. J. H. Trumbull, Boston, 1867).

P. 107-108 (Trumbull Edition), "Martin's Vineyard, uninhabited by any English, but Indians, which are very savage." Also excellent footnote by Trumbull, with numerous references. (Contributed by Mr. Stuart C. Sherman).

24

Newes from America, by Captain John Underhill, London, 1638. (3 Mass. Hist. Coll. vi).

P. 13. After mentioning Connecticut River country, and Long Island, Underhill says: "Nahanticot, Martin's Vineyard, Pequeot, Narraganset Bay, Elizabeth Islands, all these places are yet uninhabited, and generally afford good accomodation; as a good soil, according as we have expressed, they are a little inferior to the former places." (Contributed by Mr. Francis A. Foster.) Note: The inclusion of Long Island with the others which Farrett was commissioned to sell makes it reasonably certain that Underhill knew of Farrett's mission in 1637.

25

Historie of Travaille into Virginia. A manuscript, by William Strachey, first published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1849. (This can be dated as about 1612-1613 by the remark . . . "Captain Harlow, the same who brought away the salvadges at this time shewd in London." See Note 4).

Strachey's report of Gosnold's voyage is taken verbatim without credit, in shortened form, from Brereton's Relation. (His account of the Popham Colony was likewise plagarized, Winsor III, p. 192.) His only original contributions are, first, the statement in the title of the chapter, that the expedition was sent out by the Earl of Southhampton; and secondly, the statement that Gosnold named an island after himself. The latter is plainly a misunderstanding, as "Gosnold's Island" is Brereton's north part of the Vineyard where Indians appeared with a gift of fish.

26

The so-called Simancas Map, according to an article by the late Mrs. Emma Mayhew Whiting in the Vineyard Gazette of May 11, 1934, was first published by Alexander Brown in The Genesis of the United States, 2 Vols., 1890, page 457. This map

and other documents were reproduced by Brown with the cooperation of the American Ambassador to Spain from manuscripts in the archives at Simancas. A caption reads, "A copy of the map of that Province in America made for James I in 1610, sent to Phillip III by Velasco in his letter of March 22, 1611." Velasco speaks of a surveyor sent by the King to survey the Province in 1610. Brown found on the map itself traces of the observations made by Argall in 1610, and by Weymouth, Pring and Gosnold earlier. Strachey is reported to have written that Argall had made good what Gosnold and Weymouth "wanted in their discoveries."

Dr. Banks printed, I, p. 78 a detail, not photographically reproduced, of the Vineyard region. Henry F. Howe, in Prologue to New England, 1943, pages 180-181, reproduced the whole New England section of the map.

27

American Biography, by Jeremy Belknap. Boston, 1798. Vol. II, pp. 101ff, "Gosnold."

Belknap propounds the theory that Gosnold, sailing to the south of Nantucket and the Vineyard, landed on Noman's Land, naming it Marthaes Vineyard. The Vineyard itself, after rounding Gay Head, he "knew to be an island; but gave no name to any part of it, except the Cliff." His account, he reports, is based on the "Journal, written by Gabriel Archer," which "contains some inaccuracies." Internal evidence shows that he did not know Brereton's Relation. Without essential data supplied by Brereton, and disregarding some of the most significant of Archer's data as inaccurate, his account of Gosnold's course is of little value, although it has been followed by most historians. His Noman's theory can be as easily refuted as his companion theory that Pring passed the summer of 1603 on the Vineyard, disproved by DeCosta (Winsor, III, p. 188, foot-note 6.) He was also unaware, of course, that Vines, in 1641, and Winslow, in 1647, identified Capawack as the island named Marthaes Vineyard.

28

J. H. Lea's collection of Gosnold and Bacon wills was published in the N. E. Historical Register for 1902, Vol. LVI, p. 402, and in following issues.

Dr. Banks' assertion on the authority of Lea that no Martha was to be found in the Gosnold family was misleading, as the wills give no information as to the marital status of Bartholomew Gosnold, nor that of his brothers (only one of whom is known), nor do they give the names of any of their progeny. Lea could not possibly know therefore whether there was any Martha among them or not.

Prof. Fulmer Mood's announcement was made in the July, 1929, issue of the same Register, based on his discovery that in No. XVII of the Suffolk Green Books, published at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, 1915-1916, 3 Vols., a Bartholomew Gosnold had a daughter named Martha baptised on April 24, 1597.

Boyd's Marriage Index gives the marriage in 1595 of Bartholomew Gosnold to Mary Golding, at Latton [Essex]. This was reported to Mr. L. McCormick-Goodhart, of West Chop, Martha's Vineyard, and Alexandria, Virginia, by the London "Society of Genealogists." A complete pedigree of Bartholomew Gosnold, including all the Gosnolds of Otley, Suffolk, England, is in process of completion by Mr. Francis A. Foster, of Vineyard Haven, Vice President of the Dukes County Historical Society, and will shortly be filed with that Society.

29

A Memoir of Sir William Alexander (The Earl of Stirling), by the Rev. Edward F. Slafter, Prince Society, 1872. A full review of this work was published by the writer in the Vineyard Gazette of Sept. 20, 1946.

This work is chiefly concerned with the earlier life of Alexander, as a poet and author, a favorite of James I and Charles I, and his attempt to build an empire in Nova Scotia.

Source documents are printed in full. References to his share in the Council for New England, Long Island grants, Farrett, Forrester, etc., may be found through the index.

Dr. Banks does not cite this basic source. A detail of Sir William's map, (Banks I, p. 84), printed by Slafter with the full text of "Encouragement to Colonies," is wrongly attributed by Banks to the Council for New England. (Banks' reference, I, p. 139, to the non-payment of the Stirling heirs, from Duer's Life of Lord Stirling, is a citation from a book about an American General in the Revolution, who claimed the title as a descendant of the first Earl's brother. The claim was not allowed in England. [The data for this was contributed by Mr. Stuart C. Sherman.]

The name of the Earl's agent, Farrett, was evidently pronounced as phonetically spelled, Forrett.

30

The letter from Thomas Mayhew to Gov. Andros, dated April 12, 1675, is among the "New York Colonial Manuscripts," preserved in the Manuscripts and History Section of the New York State Library (The University of the State of New York), Albany, N. Y., Vol. XXIV, page 92.

Miss Edna L. Jacobsen, Head of the Section, wrote to explain that the manuscript was in such bad condition that a photostat would be of no use, and sent instead a typed copy of a transcription made by an archivist, George Howell, in 1897. The letter is printed in Hough's Nantucket Papers, pp. 68-75.

In this document, Mayhew tells the full story of his political relationships and troubles.

Another letter from N. Y. Col. Mss. cited by Dr. Banks is Simon Athearn's letter dated June, 1691, from Vol. XXXVII, p. 161 (Banks, I, p. 179-180).

Mayhew's letter to Gov. Nicolls, Aug. 17, 1667, is briefly summarized in the Calendar of Papers, Great Britain Public Records Office, Vol. V. pp. 491-492, from Colonial Papers, Vol. XXI, No. 93. The full text is printed in "A Catalogue of Documents . . . Relating . . . to Maine—" [By George Folsom] New York, Privately Printed, 1858, pp. 78-79.

Gov. Nicoll's reply is not cited, except in Mayhew's letter to Andros.

31

Dr. Banks was evidently late in discovering the date of Martha's birth, placed as the third daughter in Vol. I, p. 122; compare III, Genealogy, p. 301. This probably accounts for his failure to note that Martha was named soon after the purchase of the Island.

32

There is direct evidence, not noted by Dr. Banks, on Mayhew's occupation of the islands. Writing to Daniel Gookin (Indian Collections, p. 205), Sept. 1, 1674, he says, "I have very often these 32 years been at Nantucket." This dates his first visit to the islands as in 1642. To Gov. Andros, writing Apr. 12, 1675 (Note 30), he speaks of his "quiet possession 29 years." This makes 1646 the first year of permanent possession. In the preceding four years there were presumably only summer visits, preparing a place for permanent residence.

33

A more complete list of the occurrences of Martha's Vineyard than that supplied by Dr. Banks (I, p. 75) follows. Only those starred occur in his list.

1602 Brereton's Relation (Note 1).
*1613 Strachey's Travaille into Virginia (Note 25).
1624 Smith's Abstract of Brereton's Relation, Generall Historie (Note 2).
1625 Purchas his Pilgrimes (Archer, etc.) (Note 1).
1630 De Laet, The New World, 2nd edition. (Note 13).
*1641 Vines' Grant to Mayhew, N. Y. Deeds III, 66. (Note 6).
1642 Mayhew's First Township Grant, N. Y. Deeds I, 73 (Note 6)
1649 Glorious Prospect, Winslow, and letter from Eliot. (Note 12)
1651 Whitfield's Light Appearing (Note 37)
1651 Rev. John Wilson's Letter, Banks I, p. 128.
1662 Corporation's Letter to Boyle (Note 20)
*1662 John Winthrop, Jr., Letter to Boyle (Note 37).
1663—75 Edgartown Records I, pp. 1, 7, 10, 14, 21, 159. (Cited by Banks, Annals of Edgartown, II, pp. 106, 65, 121, 40, 113, 55).
1671 Mayhew's Commission from Lovelace and Council Minutes. (Note 6).
1672ff. General Court (Banks I, p. 153)
1673 Grant of Holmes Neck (Banks II Tisbury, p. 14).
1674 Daniel Gookin, Indian Collections (Note 20).
*1676 Samuel Sewall, Diary, 1, 26.
*1678 Report on the purchase of Maine (Note 16).
*1689 Briefe Relation of the State of N. E., 19
*1692 Acts and Resolves of the General Court of Massachusetts

Thereafter in the Massachusetts Colony, Martha's Vineyard is used in all official documents.

34

The known members of the Gosnold Expedition are as follows: Bartholomew Gosnold and Bartholomew Gilbert, leaders, mentioned by both John Brereton and Gabriel Archer in their Relations, each of whom was also in the company; William Strete, the (sailing) master, mentioned by Archer, who also mentions Tucker for whom Tucker's Terror was named, and probably a man named Hill, who found the canoe on Hill's Hap (Hill's Luck). In his list of "commodities," Brereton names Robert Meriton as the first finder of sassafras. Purchas his Pilgrimes, introducing Pring's Voyage, mentions Mr. Robert Salterne and Mr. John Angel as having been with Gosnold the previous year. There are no other contemporaneous sources in which names might be found.

Dr. Banks' citation, on I, page 76, of Alexander Brown's The First Republic in Amrica, Cambridge, 1898, page 33, as proof that John Martin was with Gosnold, leads nowhere, as Brown offers no documentary evidence. (Checked by Mr. Alexander O. Vietor.) Brown's remark is probably an inference from the name Martin's Vineyard!

Jeremy Belknap (Amer. Biog. 1798) includes James Rosier in the Gosnold expedition; but this is from an error in Purchas his Pilgrimes, where the latter part of Brerton's Relation is titled Notes by James Rosier, although it is properly signed at the end by John Brereton. The slip of memory was doubtless caused by the fact that Brereton's Relation and Rosier's Relation of Waymouth's Voyage, were alike in format and typography, both title pages using the same broad ornamental border. (See reproductions in Winship's Sailor's Narratives [Note 1], pages 32 and 100.)

35

The Life of St. Martha is given in the Acta Sanctorum for July 29, Vol. 7, p. 20 C, in the 1868 edition, Palme, Paris. (Communicated by the Rev. Professor Francis O. Corcoran, S. J., of Weston College, Mass.). The legends are given more fully in

Guerin's Les Petits Bollandistes, Vol. IX, pp. 94ff. (Communicated by the Reference Department of the Boston Public Library, and by my friend, the Rev. Henry B. Washburn, Dean Emeritus of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.), See also Baedeker, Southern France, under Saintes Maries, Les; Carmargue, Ile de la; and Tarascon (B du Rh).

An enquiry as to whether there were any closer association of St. Martha with vineyards brought negative results. Two art museums, Fogg and Metropolitan, stated that grapes were not used as her symbol in medieval art; and a friend long resident in France could find no association of her name with vineyards or vintages.

36

Winthrop's Journal, History of New England, 1630-1649. Ed. by James K. Hosmer, New York, 1908.

Vol. II, p. 4 (June 4, 1644). Inhabitants of Lynn settle on Long Island by arrangement with Mr. Forrett. Vol. II, p. 154 (1644). Some of Watertown began a plantation at Martin's Vineyard. (Contributed by Mr. Stuart C. Sherman).

37

Henry Whitfield, The Light Appearing . . . the present state of the Indians in New England, etc. London, 1651. Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Coll. Third Series, Vol. IV, p. 107.

(p. 1). Note reading, "Some call it Marthaes Vineyard." (Contributed by Mr. Francis A. Foster).

38

Winthrop Papers. John Winthrop, Jr., Hartford in New England. Mass. Historical Collections, Fifth Series, Vol. 8, p. 84.

Letter dated No 3, 1663, to the Hon. Robert Boyle, on behalf of the widow of Mr. Mayhew of Martha's Vinyard. (Contributed by Mr. Francis A. Foster).

39

The History of Martha's Vineyard, by Charles Edward Banks, M. D., 3 Vols. Boston, 1911, 1925.

A few specific page references have been given in the text. Other references to this note refer to data supplied by Dr. Banks, used without further checking of his sources. These comprise chiefly the following, from Vol. I. English family of Mayhew, p. 113; Mayhew in Massachusetts, p. 123-4; Mayhew and Lovelace, with citations from N. Y. Council Minutes, N. Y. Patents, etc., pp. 142-153; Matthew Mayhew and the Charter of 1691, with citations from the unpublished Massachusetts Archives, etc., pp. 178-206, and citations from the records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, pp. 132, 226ff.

40

The conditions included by Forrett in his grants to Mayhew (N. Y. Deeds, III, pp. 64-65, and repeated pp. 76-77) read as follows:

"Provided that they, the said Thomas Mayhew, and Thomas Mayhew his Sonn, or either of them or their Associates doe render and give yearly unto the Hon'ble the Lord Sterling his Heyres or Assignes such an Acknowledgm't as shall be thought

fitt by John Winthrop the Elder Esqe or any two Magistrates in the Massachusetts Bay, being chosen for that end and purpose by the Hon'ble the Lord Sterling or his Deputy, and by the said Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his Son or their Associates. It is Agreed that the Governm't that the said Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his Son, and their Associates shall sett up there shall be such as is now establisht in the Massachusetts afores'd. And that the said Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his Sonn and their Associates shall have as much Priveledge touching their Planting Inhabitants, and enjoying of all and every part of the p'emisses As by Patent is Graunted to the Patentees of the Massachusetts aforesaid and their Assocyates."

BOOKED for TRAVEL

GARDEN OF GRAPES

EDGARTOWN, MARTHA'S VINEYARD.

BLUFFING and rusticating really made a resort out of Martha's Vineyard. The Methodists came to rusticate and the younger folks to bluff—which meant walking with a girl along the bluffs. In between times the Methodists took to religion. They first began holding their big camp meetings in 1835, setting up tents in a grand circle around the prayer grounds. But the cool winds off the sea must have chilled the marrow of many a Methodist, for soon slats appeared to augment the canvas tents. In time tents became bungalows and the village took the name of Cottage City.

In those days the big industry on the island was whaling, but the Civil War put a crimp in commerce. Besides, a good whale was becoming hard to find, and the market in whale oil was hit by the introduction of a new product—mineral oil. It was for those general reasons that Martha's Vineyard slipped gently from whales to visitors. Not that it has ever lost its insularity. There are at least six families on the island who have been there for more than 300 years. The Vineyard telephone directory still lists eight Peases, thirty-three Nortons, eleven Vincents, and seventeen Mayhews. It was Thomas Mayhew who bought Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a few lesser islands for $200 in 1641, which is about the cost of a two weeks' stay on the Vineyard nowadays. Mayhew had a daughter or a wife named Martha, some sources say. About the grapes, the early settlers reported "incredible stores" of them growing wild so that "we could not proceed for treading on them." Some wild-grape jelly is made on the island, but no attempt has ever been made at exploitation, the world of the billboard and the copywriter being absolutely incompatible with pleasant living in the minds of the Vineyard people.

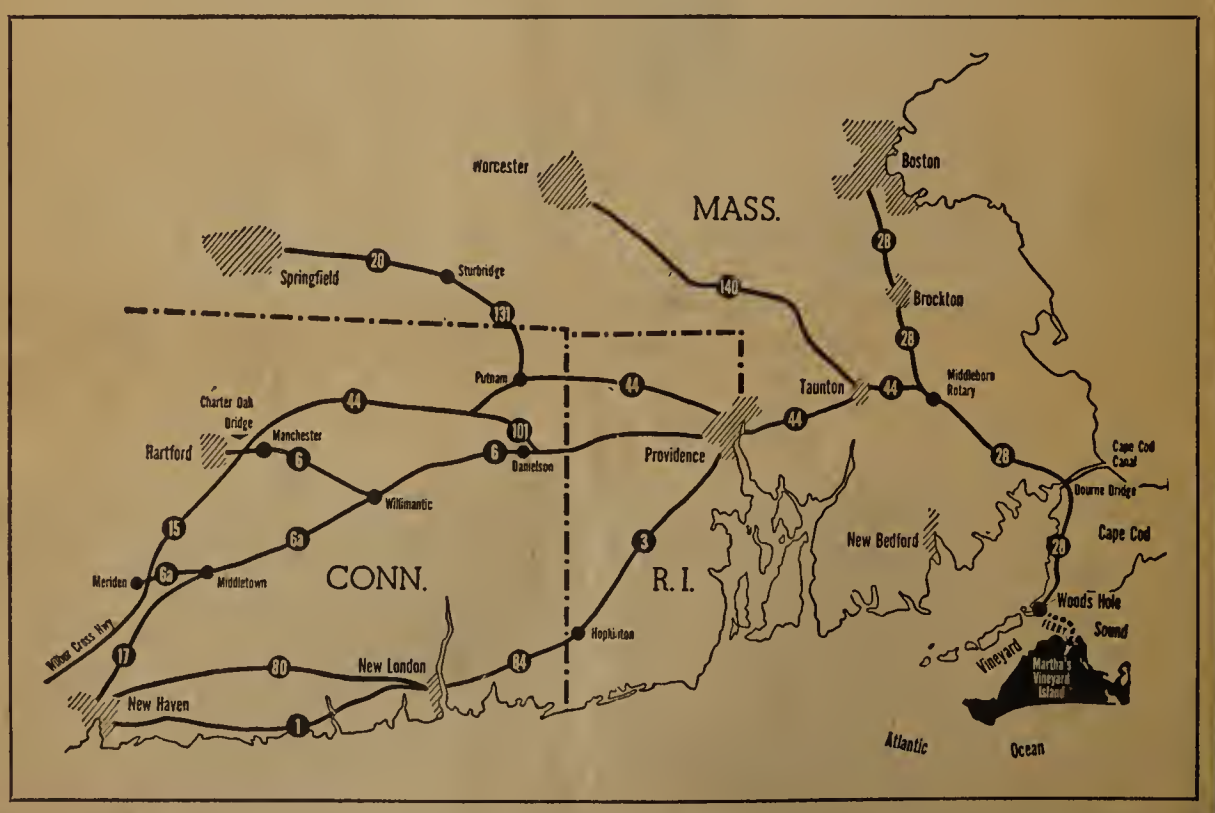
Martha's Vineyard is more than twenty miles long and Manhattan island — if dropped on top — would hardly reach from the fishing village of Menemsha to the old whaling settlement of Edgartown. The old blubber berth is no less touristy these days than the Champs-Elysées in July, in a salt-and-sea-air sort of way, of course. There is, in the first place, the handsome Harborside Hotel, which, as you may gather, sits by the side of Edgartown harbor. In effect, it is a collection of old homes that once belonged to whaling captains—the Captain Tristam Ripley House built in 1860, the Chappaquiddick House of Captain John Fisher, and the Captain Thomas Milton House built in 1840 and shaded now by a Chinese pagoda tree the skipper brought home from the Orient in a flower pot. Added to the main house is a brand-new dining room framed with picture windows, with a sundeck built on top. The view gives out on Harborside's harbor and its thirty sailboats, all for hire, and on its magnificent gardens, which are all the talk of the island ladies. Its lettuce-sized roses have made such a hit that the hotel now keeps an expert gardener on the permanent payroll. Said he on viewing a deep red rose early this summer, "Why, damn you, you were supposed to be pink."

FOR a swim Harborside's guests may jump off the deep end of the dock, take the five-minute ferry to Chappaquiddick Island, or a twenty-minute car ride to magnificent South Beach, a great stretch of sand sixteen miles long. To be sure, there is bottom fishing and surf fishing, not to mention gravestone-reading in the old cemetery nearby. Of all the rhymes chipped into the headstones of the ancient mariners and their kin, islanders like best to chuckle over one tablet in particular, which bears the legend:

Here lies the body of our beloved
Charlotte
Born a virgin, died a harlot.
For sixteen years she kept her virginity
Which is a very good record for this
vicinity.

For a sturdy roof over your head, three meals a day, and the easy island life, Harborside extracts from $11 to $16 a person until Labor Day, $9 to $14 a day until September 16, the end of the season. Its rates compare with Harbor View Hotel, which overlooks the lighthouse at Starbuck's Neck. Once a famous hostelry, the Harbor View has been almost completely overhauled. I say *almost* in deference to the veteran patron who refused to have her old room modernized in any way. There is something very explicit about the names of the hotels on Martha's Vineyard. Harbor View Hotel definitely *has* a broad view of the harbor, not to mention the lighthouse, which stands at the entrance to Edgartown. It also boasts its own beach on a private sandbar in front of the hotel. Not only is the Harbor View the largest hotel on the island (100 rooms), an auspicious note of singularity in itself, but also it lists among its stockholders Miss Emily Post, an island resident. Her home is nearby and contains, like book ends of the ages, a widow's walk crowned with a television aerial.

Cottage City, which, as I say, really started bringing the tourists to Martha's Vineyard, is still thriving. Long ago it changed its name to Oak Bluffs, but the camp-meeting grounds are still there, four of them now—Trinity Park, Washington Park, Forest Circle, and Montgomery Square. Each has a perimeter of wood cottages all trimmed gingerbread fashion. In



For the Vineyard Voyager.

Methodist Camp Meeting—bluffing, rusti

the center is the tabernacle for the prayer meetings. Next to the last Wednesday every August is Illumination Night, when the cottages are festooned with strings of Chinese lanterns, many of them handed down as family heirlooms.

Oak Bluffs has a wide assortment of lower-priced accommodations, and you can get a double room in town for $25 a week. Although a shore dinner at the Oak Bluffs Lobster House would cost about $4.50, there are a number of places in town serving average dinners for $1.25.

For anyone who wants no golf, no tennis, no juke boxes, no hurly, no burly, I would suggest the Stony Squaw Inn at Gay Head, which is eighteen miles from everything else. Run by Viola MacDiarmid, who is indeed an authentic squaw, though not at all stony, the inn has no more than seven double rooms. When the mood strikes her, Mrs. MacDiarmid spins her potter's wheel on the porch, fashioning the Gay Head clay into an assortment of jars and bowls. It is hardly a five-minute walk to the clay cliffs which rear up, multicolored, from the edge of the sea. Gay Head clay is found in black, red, gray, and yellow, with occasionally a petrified shark's tooth or a whale bone mixed in—proof enough, they say, that the cliffs were thrown up by some undersea volcanic eruption.

Train travelers coming up from the East will find that the New Haven Railroad runs right up to dockside at Woods Hole, whence a ferry will whip them across the water. Northeast Airlines flies from New York and Boston, landing at Edgartown Airport. Should you be coming up in your own car you'll find the roads good, the routes well marked, and an unpleasant surprise awaiting you in Woods Hole. The round-trip fare for two persons and one car on the island ferry comes to $18.20. Until a few weeks ago they used to charge an extra dollar each way for a reservation. There are those who say that the summer rate is purposely inflated to keep the island from being overrun. And there are others who insist that the high summer rate is the only measure that could financially insure ferry service all year around. At any rate, there isn't anything Martha's Vineyard needs more than a good five-dollar ferry ride.

—Horace Sutton.

THE F

E

FOR a long time the No
artist Edvard Munch (18
has been recognized in .
as one of the very finest print
of his generation. His paint
the contrary, have not been se
in number since the Armory
1913. One seldom saw them
for that matter, though he had
there at intervals. It was ma
Germans and eventually h
countrymen who spoke of h
great painter and who ackno
him to be a crucial force in
lution of expressionism—that
sional approach to painting c
Gustave Moreau, not himself
pressionist, gave unwittingly

Invitation to an Island

When the pinkletinks have warmed up to their pond-style barber shop harmony, when a first whippoorwill is heard by an Edgartown bird listener and old trees are preparing to chase their next month's shadows down old lanes—then it is May on Martha's Vineyard and "The Vineyard Gazette" forehandedly gets out its always alluring "invitation edition." This year the edition has eight sections and sixty pages—four pages and one section more than in 1949. We rejoice in the additional section, for it gives a chance for another of those page-wide, column-head quotations with which the invitation becomes the more enticing, even if Neptune never wrote a line of verse. "Whose heart has boundaries staked out in water," says one of these quotes, "is heir to radiant and ancient kingdoms." That's the Vineyard, of course. Radiant and ancient ever since Captain Gosnold ate a first bunch of grapes there, or a first whaler brought back a thousand barrels of oil.

It is not a desirable thing, says the "Gazette's" editor, to be all things to all men. "But to be all things to all men is a desirable thing in an island," he adds. What the Vineyard can be this summer to "off-islanders" Henry Hough's invitational columns prove in prose, poetry and photographs.

There is one picture of an old apple tree, a two-man stone wall and a lot of nice soft grass. There are shadows on the grass, and they look mighty slow and restful and far from traffic. One can almost smell the sea out beyond the wall. One can, in that bordering summer ocean, almost see the mermaid a "Gazette" poet describes—a mermaid who "combs the kelp from her hair." The "Gazette's" acceptances, we feel sure, will be based on some forty thousand good reasons and arrivals. Personally, we'll settle for the quiet apple tree and the mermaid with the kelp in her hair.